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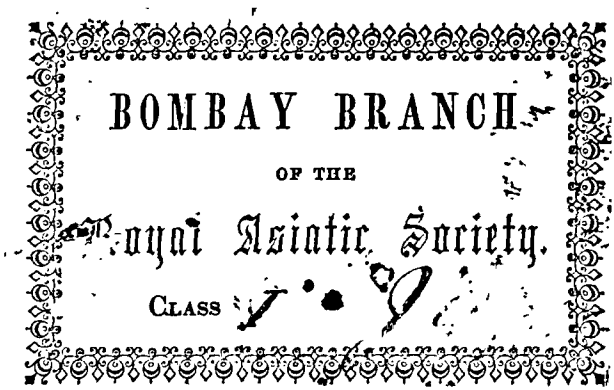

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THE ENGLISH BIBLE

"Howsoever these things are in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet Truth which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature."—BACON.

"The Jesuit reasons thus: if the scriptures should be read by the people in the vulgar tongue, then new versions should be made in every age, because languages are changed every age. But this would be impossible, because there would be a lack of persons fit to make the versions; and, if it were possible, it would be absurd that the versions should be so often changed. Therefore the scriptures ought not to be read in the vernacular tongue.

"I answer, this argument is ridiculous. For, in the first place, it is false that languages change every age; since the primary tongues, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, have not undergone such frequent alterations. Secondly, there is never in Christian churches a lack of some sufficient interpreters, able to translate the scriptures and render their genuine meaning in the vulgar tongue. Thirdly, no inconvenience will follow if interpretations or versions of scripture, when they have become obsolete and ceased to be easily intelligible, be afterwards changed and corrected."—WHITAKER, 1588.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE:

AN EXTERNAL AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE VARIOUS ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SCRIPTURE,

WITH REMARKS ON THE NEED OF

REVISING THE ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT.

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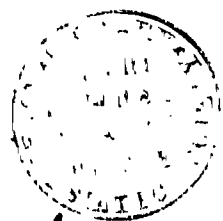
BY

JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES J. ELLICOTT, D.D.,

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL,

CHAIRMAN;

AND TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY

ENGAGED IN THE REVISION OF THE

ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT,

THESE VOLUMES ARE VERY CORDIALLY

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE following pages have been written to tell the story of the English Bible, and it is a story of singular interest to all who speak the English tongue. No pains have been spared to present the narrative in its truth, and to disentangle it from conflicting statements and traditional errors.

Many thanks are due to those who have gone before me. Mr. Lewis, in his "Complete History of the several Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English," published in 1731, pointed the way. Yet, so little interest was the public supposed to feel in such a work, that his first edition consisted only of 140 copies in folio; and the presentiment was verified, for the sale was so very slow that the second edition, in octavo, did not appear till eight years afterwards. His book has many merits; its defects may be ascribed to the scantier knowledge of his time; but its blunders have led some noted historians far astray. Other writings on the same special theme, as those of

Johnson, Newcome, Whittaker, Walter, Conant, and the "Brief Account" prefixed to Bagster's "Hexapla," though they are of varying value, are not without their use.

But the publication of Christopher Anderson's "Annals of the English Bible," in 1845, formed an epoch; for the work was the fruit of independent investigation, and its author brought to light some new facts about Tyndale, and discovered some unsuspected editions of his New Testament. Mr. Anderson's original purpose had been to compile a biography of the martyred translator, and had that purpose not been partially abandoned, or rather supplemented, his volumes might have possessed more compactness and symmetry. His "Annals," however, are wholly external in character, for he never attempts to give any critical estimate of Tyndale's version, either of its English style, its fidelity to the original Greek, or its nearer or remoter relation to Luther and the Vulgate. The work, indeed, grew under his hand to a great size, for it is filled to overflowing with extraneous or collateral matter, and every page might have been printed in three parallel columns, headed in succession—"History of the English Nation," "History of the English Church," "History of the English Bible." Now and then the good man is swayed by prejudice, as when he avers that, from principle, Tyndale would not, and did not, translate any portion of the Apocrypha, though the evidence to the contrary was lying before his eyes,

in the "Epistles" for Church Service, taken from Esther, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, attached to his famous revised edition of 1534. So jealous was he for Tyndale's fame and honour that he studiously, and on every occasion, depreciates Coverdale, who, though he was not endowed with Tyndale's high nobility of nature, yet possessed eminent qualities, and did a good secondary work when no one else thought of attempting it. I have endeavoured to weigh the merits of each translator, or company of translators, with open impartiality.

Special and grateful reference cannot but be made to Canon Westcott's very able, accurate, and scholarly "General View of the History of the English Bible," 1868; to Prebendary Scrivener's careful and thorough "Introduction" to the Quarto Paragraph Bible, Cambridge, 1873; to some papers—too few and too brief—by Dr. Moulton in the "Bible Educator"; and to several volumes of minute and patient labour, in the form of elaborate collations and fac-simile reproduction, by the esteemed and obliging Mr. Francis Fry, of Bristol.

I have tried to trace the English Bible down from Anglo-Saxon times, and have added a very few remarks on the changes which passed over the old language in those distant centuries. Wycliffe has been often portrayed as a Reformer, but, as it was more to my purpose, I have sketched him as a Translator, divined his motives, and thrown into

relief the fresh and graphic English of his wonderful version. The reader will find brief biographies of the men who engaged, at different periods, in the work of translation—a work sometimes perilous, and always very responsible; and that work is candidly judged in itself, as well as in its connection with previous, and its influence upon subsequent, versions. The introduction into Scotland of the various editions, and their effect on that kingdom, have not been overlooked. Considerable space is devoted to our present Bible, usually, though not with strict accuracy, called "The Authorized Version," and I have entered into some points of its history as a printed volume after its publication in 1611.

The old spelling is given where it is characteristic; and as the book is not meant for scholars only, but also for persons of ordinary education and intelligence, Latin and Greek terms are, for the most part, printed at the bottom of the pages. Errors are unavoidable in such a multifarious work, but it is hoped that none of them are unpardonable. No verses are marked in Tyndale, Coverdale, and the Great Bible, and the attempt to facilitate reference by numbering them according to the Authorized Version may have led to some discrepancies.

In fine, some chapters in the concluding portion of the second volume discuss the subject of Revision, showing that there is a general necessity for it, and that no one needs either to be startled by it, or to be

suspicious about its results; for through successive revisions our Bible has come to be what it is, as a faithful and popular translation. May the rich and suggestive History that has wreathed itself round our Book of books stir up a profounder thankfulness to the Giver of all good, and may its own truths live in the hearts of all who read it!

I tender my best thanks to my friend the Rev. William Young, Parkhead, for looking over the sheets, and especially for compiling the accurate and complete Index.

6 Thornville Terrace, Hillhead,
Glasgow, *March*, 1876.

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ERRATA.

Page 77, line 19 from top, *for* "we also," *read* "we have also."
,, 193, ,, 5 ,, *for* "picquant," *read* "piquant."
,, 215, ,, 3 from bottom, *for* "Deutoronomos," read "Deuteronomos."
,, 298, ,, 9 from top, *for* "Judges x," *read* "Judges ix."
,, 380, note 5, *for* "nos," *read* "vos."
,, 385, line 9 from top, *for* "a mothre [putting a garment]," *read* "a moth [fretting a garment]."

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

INTRODUCTORY.

For it is not much above one hundreth yeare ago, sens scripture hath not bene accustomed to be redde in the vulgar tonge within this realme, and many hundred yeares before that, it was translated and redde in the Saxones tonge, which at that tyme was our mothers tonge, whereof there remayneth yet divers copyes, founde lately in olde Abbeis of soch antique maners of writynge and speaking that fewe men now ben able to reade and understonde them.

Cranmer's Preface to Great Bible, 1540.

INTRODUCTORY.

WHEN Christianity is first introduced into a country, there is ever, on the part of those who accept it from oral teaching, a strong craving to possess its written Records in their own tongue. According to several of the Early Fathers, a similar desire had been felt and gratified in Britain on its reception of the Gospel,[1] though Latin was well understood by the educated classes during the period of Roman supremacy, and was also the language of the earliest Western translation of the Bible. But while copies of the Scriptures, as Gildas records, were burned in the streets of British towns during the persecution under Diocletian, no fragments of any old version in the Keltic dialects of England or Scotland have been preserved.[2] After the legions were called away, bands of fierce warriors, —Jutes, Saxons, and Angles,—from the shores of the Eider, the Elbe, the Weser, and the Baltic, crossing the sea at various times, invaded and occupied the country, dispossessed the natives, and swept away civilization and Christianity. This barbarian dominion had lasted several dark and dismal years, when the mission of Augustine led to the conversion of Ethelbert, king and Bretwalda, in A.D. 597. The result was that the public services of religion were gradually organized among the pagan[3] settlers; the Keltic tribes which had been driven into

[1] Chrysostomi Opera, vol. III, p. 86. Ed. Benedict. Parisiis, 1837.

[2] Opera, English Trans., Giles, p. 10. London, 1844.

[3] The poem of Beowulf had its origin among the pagan Saxons. Edited by Kemble, London, 1837.

Wales, Ireland, and the Hebrides, having preserved no little of their earlier ecclesiastical institutions.[1]

While the Catholic Church had its grand and impressive service, it was early and often felt desirable to attempt a translation of the Latin Bible into the speech of common life. Such a translation might be sometimes a solitary experiment, or it might proceed from a generous wish to bring those who did not understand Latin face to face with the divine truth vailed in it. The Psalms, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer were in this way, and from time to time, rendered into the mother tongue, and those fragments appear to have been cherished as monastic treasures, or carefully kept as literary curiosities. Theodore of Tarsus, seventh Archbishop of Canterbury, on his first visitation, enjoined parents to see that "their children were taught to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the vulgar tongue."[2] In the same spirit Bede writes to Egbert who had been recently raised to the primacy of York, exhorting him to cause the Lord's Prayer and the Creed to be turned into Anglo-Saxon for the use of the priesthood, as well as of the laity,[3] and he appeals to his own example, for he had prepared such a translation for native teachers, ignorant of Latin. Aidan, the meek and pious Scottish Bishop of Lindisfarne (A.D. 635), who, according to Bede, "had a zeal of God" not quite according to knowledge, since he kept Easter according to the custom of his own country, employed all his associates, whether monks or laymen, in reading the Scriptures or in learning psalms.[4] The state-

[1] So few Keltic words have been preserved, that they give no appreciable colouring to our language, except in names of localities, of which a considerable number survive. Morley's English Writers, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 163.

[2] Hook's Archbishops of Canterbury, Vol. I, p. 150. London, 1860.

[3] Opera, vol. I, p. 14. Ed. Giles. "Even the mass itself was not entirely read in Latin. The wedding form was no doubt in Anglo-Saxon, and its hearty sound and simple sterling substance are preserved in the English ritual to the present day." Lappenberg's History of England under the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I, p. 202. Thorpe's Trans., London, 1845 Palgravé's England and Normandy, vol. II, p. cxxxvi.

[4] Bede, Works, vol. II, p. 276. Ed. Giles, London, 1843.

ment seems to imply the existence and use of oral or written Northumbrian versions. Ussher records of Edfrid, of Lindisfarne (A.D. 710), that he translated most of the books of Scripture into Anglo-Saxon;[1] but the tradition lacks proof. Aldhelm, of Sherborne, in his treatise *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, praises some nuns for their earnest and continuous study of the Scriptures; and his eulogy seems to suggest that the sacred sisters possessed some portions of the Bible in their Anglo-Saxon or birth tongue.[2] The reading of Scripture was in those earlier times regarded as harmless, at least it was not frowned upon as perilous, for there was no popular restlessness under the established faith. Most of the older fragmentary Bibles have perished in the lapse of centuries, and in the destruction of the religious houses, when valuable libraries were dispersed as waste paper, or sold as fuel. The use of books, it is evident, must have been confined very much to the clergy, and the possession of them to the more wealthy and cultured of the laity. These early versions had no immediate bearing on the later English translations of the Bible, and therefore a history of them in merest outline only is sketched in the following pages; but as some readers may be interested in a brief account of the changes which at sundry times have passed over the old Saxon tongue, moulding in various ways the language of Cædmon and Alfred into that of Wycliffe and Tyndale, a very few remarks on these successive alterations have been given—all tending to prove that the first so-called Anglo-Saxon translation was as truly an English Bible as is the present Authorized Version of 1611.[3]

Now, the common and convenient epithet Anglo-Saxon, as applied to these native translations, though it may be rather apt to mislead, easily explains itself: its first part indicating those invaders who took possession of the country, and called it, after themselves, Engla-land, England; and the second part

[1] Ussher, Works, vol. XII, p. 282. Ed. Elrington, Dublin, 1847-64.

[2] Opera, p. 2. Ed. Giles, Oxon. 1844.

[3] Research among Anglo-Saxon MSS. on the part of patient and skilled collators is yet greatly needed to give us their history, and a critical estimate of their age and value.

yet surviving in the names of separate provinces or kingdoms as Essex, Wessex, and Sussex. While there was only one settlement of Jutes, there were three settlements of Saxons, and four of Angles; and the Angles and the Saxons, from proximity of territory, were soon regarded as one people. Though the compound name is found in some old charters, the people called themselves and their tongue English.[1] This Anglo-Saxon[2] tongue was therefore our English tongue in its earlier and rougher form; and what Alfred called English[3] has continued to be spoken in our land by successive generations for fourteen hundred years, and still lives in the power, character, and beauty of our modern language—gifts which have come to us by natural inheritance. Perhaps not much more than a fifth of its original vocabulary has fallen out of use, and though many changes have passed over it since the Norman conquest, it is yet read and relished in our present Bibles. In many sections of Scripture only about one word in forty is not Anglo-Saxon. Thus in Gen. xlii, 21-29, there are, with the exception

[1] Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I, p. 298. Bede speaks of five languages as spoken in the island; but two, if not three, of those referred to are merely dialects.

[2] The term, according to Lappenberg, occurs first in Paul Warnefrid (cap. vi, p. 15)—"Ceodaldus rex Anglorum-Saxonum." See History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I, p. 97, &c., Thorpe's Translation, and Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 529, London. Ine, who began to reign A.D. 700, at the beginning of his laws is called King of the West Saxons, but in the Code itself his subjects are named Englisc, English, as opposed to Wealhas or Welshmen, this term meaning foreigners or the ancient British. Saxon and Norman are not opposed as national epithets, and even at the period of the Conquest the terms are French and English, and sometimes Normans and English. Angli was the common Latin name, though the people did not call themselves Angles, or their tongue Anglian, and even the Latin name is "English" in slight disguise. Anglorum is the epithet used in the title of Bede's History, in the designation of the first Christian king, on the great seals of the Confessor and the Conqueror, while on the Bayeux tapestry Harold is called Dux Anglorum.

[3] In the preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastoralis Regula, he uses several times the term Englisc to denote his own language, and says that the name of Gregory's book is in Latin Pastoralis, and in English *en Englisc hirde-boc*, herdman's book. Alfred's Welsh biographer Asser calls it Saxon, as do still the Kelts both in England and Scotland.

of the proper names, only seven words which are not native; in the Parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii, 3-9, there are, out of 106 words employed, only three foreign ones; in John i, 1-10, only one Latin verb occurs; and in John xi, 27-46, there are not more than four or five non-English terms, with the same exception of proper names.

Some grammatical peculiarities of this Old English may be briefly noted, and many of them yet survive with more or less distinctness, as the names of objects of sense, of domestic relations, and of things of common life. If English word-books proper contain 38,000 words, then about five-eighths are Saxon, and the same average is true of the 10,000 terms in continual literary use. But in the 5,000 words of common living speech the small connective words which occur so frequently are Saxon, and the proportion is therefore greatly more than is to be found in dead dictionaries.[1]

This ancestral tongue had two forms for the two sounds of th.[2] It spelled its relative with an initial and vocal h. Its monosyllabic particles are immortal—such as its articles, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. It had its seed within itself, and by simple inner changes, sometimes not unlike those of the Semitic dialects, it expressed new and varying shades of meaning, as may be still seen in our so-called defective and irregular verbs.[3] Its noun had its

[1] Thommerel, Recherches sur la fusion du Franco-Normand et de l'Anglosaxon. Paris, 1841. Thommerel found in Richardson's and Webster's English Dictionaries 42,684 words, only 13,334 of them being of native origin, and 29,354 from a foreign source. But English dictionaries now contain an immense variety of technical terms, relating to trade, science, and art. In such collections, too, compound terms swell the list. Words compounded with the non-English particle "dis-" amount in Webster to 1,334, and the like may be said of words into the composition of which enter re-, com-, con-, inter-, sub-, ex-, &c. The old tongue has lost its power of expansion and self-development, and the new words assumed into it are nearly all of classic birth. In Milton's stock of 8,000 words there are, as might be expected, more than 5,000 of foreign origin, but in an actual and ordinary page of his poetry there are 80 per cent. of Saxon words.

[2] As "thin" and "thine."

[3] As in float, fleet; stud, steed; sop, sup; sing, song; wake, woke.

regular case-endings, which differed according to the gender of the word, and as the nominative ended in a vowel or a consonant;[1] and plurals were formed by the addition of -as, -is, -s, -n, -er, or by an internal vowel change.[2] Nouns often ended in syllables now represented by -hood, -head, -ship, -dom; diminutives in -ing, -kin -ock, -let; and gender was often marked by a different termination, as the feminine ending -ster or -in.[3] Verbs were usually conjugated by strong preterites, which have an expressive force not found in the more recent and effeminate suffix of -ed; and they had both a common and a gerundial infinitive.[4] The third person singular indicative and the plural indicative also ended in -th, &c.[5] Numerous adverbs were formed from adjectives by the addition of "lic (-ly)," some were taken from verbs and nouns, and many are original monosyllables. Adjectives often ended in -ful, -less, -er. Many nouns were also used as adjectives, often with the addition of a syllable; and many verbs are also nouns, sometimes unaltered, and sometimes with the added syllable -an, or -ian. The Anglo-Saxon verb had no future form, and we now use the auxiliaries "shall" and "will"—"shall" being originally an expression of duty, and "will" of desire or purpose. In this way an Anglo-Saxon sentence was as firmly knitted together by the gender and cases of nouns and adjectives, and by the tenses and moods of verbs, as one in modern German. Compound words[6] are

[1] The genitive in -s is still preserved in the 's of our possessive case, and in such words as twice, thrice, whose, towards; that in -an or -n in mine, thine; and the dative plural in -om lives in seldom, whom, &c.

[2] One form is found in the common English plural, and the others in such words as oxen, hosen, kine, child-er-en, geese, feet.

[3] Darling, lambkin, hillock, hamlet, spinster, foster (foodster), vixen, carlin.

[4] Ending in -enne or -anne, being a dative with "to" prefixed, as in the phrases, "apt to teach," "I need money for to go."

[5] Another verbal plural in -en is often found in Shakespeare, especially in the folio. Of this old form, which had begun to disappear after the time of Wycliffe, Ben Jonson says, "I am persuaded that the lack thereof will be found a great blemish to our tongue."

[6] Some of these are very significant—Rhetoric being flyt-cræft, the art of flyting; Grammar, stæf-cræft, the art of letters; Music, son-cræft, the art of sound; Arithmetic, rim-craft, the art of numbers,

numerous, expressive, and self-evident in meaning, and usually they are not hybrids. More especially in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, we have Godspel, good news, the gospel; reste-dæg, day of rest, or Sabbath; domes-dæg, domesday; big-spel, parable; tungel-witegan, star knowers, the magi; stoop-cild, step-child, or orphan (John xiv, 18); sunder-halgan, separate holy, the Pharisees; bocere, bookman, or scribe; leorning-cnicht, a disciple; wæter-seocman, one having dropsy; hundredes ealdor-man, a centurion; geriht-wisian, to justify; manfulle and synfulle, publicans and sinners. As was to be expected, Latin terms found their way from the Vulgate into the Anglo-Saxon New Testament, as sacerd, biscop, calic, martyr, &c.

FIRST PERIOD.

The earliest specimen of an effort to unseal the sacred volume is not a translation, but a paraphrastic poem, and it shows at least a willingness to present to the unlearned the truths and facts of Scripture. The poet did not feel that the sacred narrative suffered any degradation from being told in the familiar syllables of the hearth and the field. Towards the close of the seventh century, and in the time of St. Hilda, Cædmon,[1] originally a cow-herd, and afterwards a monk of Streaneshalch,[2] composed a metrical history of the Creation and the Exodus, the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Saviour, the gift of the Spirit, and the solemn realities

folk-land being public land, and boc-land, land in private possession. Agen-bite is remorse, as "Agen-bite of Inwit," remorse of conscience, the name of Dan Michel's well known poem in the southern or Kentish dialect. Hunger-bitten survives in the Authorized Version (Job xviii, 12), as also do hand-breadth, hand-weapon, hand-writing, handy-work, a form found in Milton's "star ypointing pyramid"; child-bearing; words compounded with fellow, as, -citizen, -prisoners, -servant, -soldier; and words compounded with sheep—sheep-master, sheep-cote, &c.

[1] Edited by Junius (Francis Duyon), 1655; Thorpe, 1832; Grein, Göttingen, 1857; and Bouterwek, Elberfeld, 1849.

[2] Now known by its Danish name of Whitby. If not a cowherd, he had occasional charge of *jumenta* during night.

of Eternity. Some sentences are rendered with considerable accuracy, and the poem shows the force and style of the current tongue of the period—a tongue somewhat rude but robust, like a wall built of rugged, unhewn stones, fresh from the quarry. As Cædmon could not himself translate, he only versified, with occasional felicity and glow, what others interpreted for him. Bede[1] speaks of his songs as composed with much sweetness and humility, and affirms that he was divinely helped, so that, having received the gift of poetry in a dream, he could never afterwards tune his cithard to any secular mirth.[2] The brethren taught him sacred history which, after meditation, he put into verses sometimes of Miltonic grandeur, and in turn made his teachers his hearers. Though Cædmon's poems are loose in their structure as being the rhythmic paraphrase of an oral version, and though they, in the course of transmission, have been altered and injured both in alliteration and sense, they are to be commended in their purpose, for they sprang from an earnest desire to impart sacred knowledge in a popular and memorable form.

About the same time a version of the Psalms is supposed to have been made by Guthlac,[3] the earliest Saxon anchoret at Croyland. This version, or a similar one, is preserved between the lines of a very old Roman psalter, the MS. itself apparently written in Italy, and being as some suppose one of the books which Gregory sent to Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury. This opinion is so far confirmed by the fact that while the Gallican psalter was used in the other parts of the island, the Roman psalter was read and sung in the Primate's own Cathedral.[4] Aldhelm, allied to the royal blood, born in

[1] Bede wrote about sixty years after Cædmon's death. See Bouterwek, De Cedmone poeta Anglo-Saxonum, &c. Elberfeld, 1845.

[2] Quasi mundum animal ruminando Bedæ opera, vol. III, p. 116. Ed. Giles, London, 1843.

[3] Died A.D. 714.

[4] Baber, preface to Wycliffe, p. lviii. This venerable document is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS., and was edited, in 1843, for the Surtees Society by J. Stevenson, "Anglo-Saxon and early English Psalter;" the volume also contains an early Northumbrian version. An Anglo-Saxon version of the life of Guthlac was edited from a MS. in the Cottonian collection, by E. H. Goodwin, London, 1848.

Wessex, and one of the earliest erudite clergy, first abbot of Malmsbury, and then Bishop of Sherborne, produced another Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms about the year 706. This version has been identified with one found in the Royal Library at Paris at the beginning of this century. The first fifty psalms are in prose, and the rest in verse; but the whole translation, however, can scarcely be Aldhelm's.[1] Aldhelm had studied under the Abbot Adrian who had come over to England with Archbishop Theodore. Though he wrote so much in Latin, he was fond of his native tongue; and we are told on the authority of King Alfred, that when he was at Malmsbury, he composed songs in it, and sang them as a minstrel on a bridge frequented by the people, that they might, while they enjoyed his ballads, be inclined to listen as he introduced spiritual themes.

About a quarter of a century after this period the venerable Bede of Jarrow was engaged in the work of translation. The region in which this monastery was situated is now planted with a forest of furnaces, throwing out fire and smoke, and soiled with unsightly mounds of cinders and igneous refuse, while the din of heavy hammers is ever resounding, as great iron vessels are built in succession, by swart and busy myriads. But in Bede's time it was quiet, lone, and thinly peopled, and the Tyne ran through miles of solitary and monotonous moorland, with occasional patches of trees on its banks. Amidst his numerous literary toils—his History, Commentaries, and Controversial Tracts—Bede found time for rendering portions of the Scriptures into his mother tongue, and he had great delight in the occupation. While he appears to have had only some slight acquaintance with Hebrew,[2] he knew Greek, and

[1] Edited by Thorpe, Liber Psalmorum, versio antiqua Latina, cum paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, &c. Oxon. 1835.

[2] The Tract, "De Interpretatione Nominum Hebraicorum," is not included in his own list of his thirty-eight works appended to his Ecclesiastical History, in A.D. 731. In his Tract De Arte Metrica he shows acquaintance with a metrical peculiarity of Homer, saying that it is to be used sparingly, that in Virgil it occurs non rarissimum, apud Homerum non frequentissimum. Opera, vol. VI, p. 6. Ed. Giles.

he had in his possession a Greek Codex of the Acts, to the readings of which he frequently refers in his Review[1] of his Commentary on that book. According to some of his biographers, Bede translated the whole Scripture; but the assertion is devoid of authority. There is, however, no doubt that he translated the Gospel of John, and that as the concluding verses were rendered by him he expired. The fourth Gospel in its pathos and subjectivity, its rich theology and profound spiritual experience, must have had a special charm for the holy and susceptible soul of Bede. His last task had been an English version of some extracts from Isidore, but the translation of the Gospel of John filled all his closing moments. It had been his study and delight, his spirit was in loving fellowship with Him whom it enshrines, and as he finished its translation he pillowed his dying head on the Lord's bosom and fell asleep.[2] The translator was revered in long subsequent times; and Purvey, the reviser of Wycliffe's version, looks back to him as a bright example and leader.[3]

During the next century the great and good King Alfred, as he surveyed and lamented the ravages of the Danish invasion, says, in the preface to his translation of the Pastoral of Pope Gregory, "I thought how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burned, how the churches were filled with treasures of books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants; yet they reaped very little fruit of these books, because they could

[1] Liber Retractationis in Acta Apostolorum. Opera, vol. XII, p. 96. Ed. Giles. Mill in his Prolegomena to his New Testament, p. 99, § 1022-26, collects some of the instances of agreement, and his conclusion is that Bede's MS. was either the Laudian Codex, *aut ejus plane gemellum*. Woide, in his Notitia Codicis Alexandrini, p. 156, &c., has adduced above thirty additional examples in proof. This Latin-Greek codex, now in the Bodleian Library, was probably brought into the country by Archbishop Theodore. It was published by Hearne in 1715, and more recently by Tischendorf, Monumenta Sacra Inedita, vol. IX, Appendix.

[2] Died 27th May, 735 A.D., at the age of fifty-nine. The story of his end is told in a vivid letter of his pupil Cuthbert to his fellow-scholar Cuthwin.

[3] "Bede translated the Bible, and expounded much in Saxon, that was English or common language of this land at his time."—Preface.

understand nothing of them, as they were not written in their own native tongue. Few persons south of the Humber could understand the service in English, or translate Latin into English. I think there were not many beyond the Humber, . . . and none to the south of the Thames, when I began to reign." Religious life had nearly died out; but it revived under him, and his patriotic valour kept his kingdom from relapsing into Pagan darkness and savagism through the inroads of the Danes, who were characteristically called the "heathen men," —as wild followers of Odin, as Hengist and Horsa, and the early Saxon invaders. Alfred intimates also that he sometimes rendered word for word, and sometimes meaning for meaning.[1] To create a native literature, and infuse a taste for it, he translated many treatises as the histories of Orosius and Bede, Boëthius de Consolatione, and some of Augustine's Soliloquies; and crowned his labours by prefixing to his body of laws a translation of the Decalogue called "Alfred's Dooms," with portions of the three following chapters of Exodus, abridged and so altered that the fourth commandment reads, "for in six days Christ wrought the heavens and the earth." The extent of his Biblical labours has been greatly exaggerated; and Spelman, on the authority of Archbishop Parker, asserts that Alfred translated the New Testament, and some portion of the Old. At the time of his death (A.D. 901) he was engaged on a version of the Psalms; but the work was left incomplete. There lives, however, his patriotic wish that all the free-born youth of his kingdom should employ themselves on nothing till they were able to read well the English Scriptures. Such is at least the familiar form of quotation; but the last words, "Englisc ge-writ arædan," most probably mean simply, to read English writing, as indeed the context so plainly implies.[2]

Besides fragmentary versions of Scripture, glosses were also

[1] "Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite."—Preface to his translation of the "Pastoral," from the copy sent to Bishop Wulfsige.

[2] Tyndale, in the preface to the "Obedience of a Christian Man," says vaguely that "King Athelstane, exhorted by the bishops, caused the Holy Scripture to be translated into English." Foxe repeats the state-

in common use, the Latin text being accompanied by an interlinear vernacular translation.[1] One of these Evangelisteria, beautifully written, exists among the Cotton MSS. of the British Museum (Nero, D, iv)—sometimes called the Durham Book, as it belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Durham; and sometimes the Cuthbert Gospels, as the MS. is supposed to have been used by St. Cuthbert. It was adorned with gold, pictures, and precious jewels by Bishop Ethelwald and Bellfrith the anchoret, and it had quite a romantic history. The Latin of these four Gospels was written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, about A.D. 680, and the Anglo-Saxon gloss was added by Aldred, a priest of Holy Isle, between the years 946 and 968, who calls himself "indignissimus et miserrimus." In the Bodleian Library there is another similar MS., of probably the same period—the Rushworth Gloss or Gospels, so named after its donor, the well known author of the voluminous "Historical Collections," relating to the period of the Commonwealth.[2] The book was written by an Irish scribe, MacRegol, and the interlinear version was inserted in the ninth or tenth century, the authors of it presenting their claim on those who

ment; but there is nothing to justify it.

[1] Glossing was a very common practice at that period. The process was applied, not only to the Scriptures, but to other books, as Prosper, Prudentius, Sedulius, Dunstan's Rule for English Monks, &c. The gloss was neither a free nor yet a literal translation, but the interlinear insertion of the vernacular, word against word of the original, so that the order of the former was really irrespective of idiom and usage.

[2] The Gospels have been published by the Surtees Society—St. Matthew, in 1854, under the care of J. Stevenson; St. Mark, in 1861; St. Luke, in 1863; and St. John, in 1865—the three last edited by G. Waring. Four Saxon translations of the Gospel of St. Matthew were printed side by side in one volume, begun by Mr. Kemble and, after his death, finished by Mr. Hardwicke, Cambridge, 1858. One text is from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, the second text is from the Hatton MS. in the Bodleian, the third is the interlinear Lindisfarne gloss, and the fourth is the Rushworth version without its Latin text. The Gospel of St. Mark was published by the Rev. Walter Skeat, M.A., Cambridge, 1871, with an introduction of great interest and utility. Various readings are also given.

use it, to be remembered by them in prayer. "Farmen presbyter thas boc thus gleosede"—this book thus glossed; and the book ends with a prayer, "he that of mine profiteth, pray he for Owun that this book glossed, and Farmen, the priest at Harewood, who has now written the book." MacRegol also adds a prayer for himself. The Rushworth St. Matthew, which is not in the proper Northumbrian dialect, is rather an independent translation than a copied gloss; but the other three Gospels, with short exceptions, are transcripts of the Durham Book. Glosses of a similar nature were made on the Psalter: one of them, probably of the ninth century, was published by the younger Spelman in 1640. There are in existence other manuscript glosses, and their number shows that this form of presenting vernacular Scripture must have been a favourite labour of Biblical scribes and scholars; but such bilingual versions could not from their nature have had a very wide circulation. Among the forms of penance enjoined by St. Dunstan upon the unworthy King Edgar, is an injunction that he was to be at the expense of transcribing copies of the Holy Scriptures, and transmitting them to churches in various parts of the kingdom for the instruction of the people.

Ælfric, Abbot of Peterborough in 1004, and Archbishop of York[1] in 1023, translated large portions of Scripture, the greater part of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Esther, Job, Judith, and Maccabees. Ælfric translated with a patriotic purpose, and English is the name which he usually

[1] According to many authorities, not to be confounded with Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1005; but the settlement of this personal question is not in our province. William of Malmsbury and Matthew Paris got into confusion about the Ælfrics, and Leland, Bale, Parker, Ussher, and Spelman have taken part in the discussion. Henry Wharton (Anglia Sacra, p. 125) held that the Grammarian was the Primate of York; and he was replied to at length by Mores in a volume edited by Thorkelin, London, 1789. Leland made three Ælfrics, but Ussher united them into one. See also Norman's preface to his edition of the Anglo-Saxon version of the Hexameron of St. Basil, 2nd Ed., London, 1849; and Hook's Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. I, p. 439.

gives to his native speech.[1] Of his version of Joshua he says, "This book I turned into English for Ealdorman Ethelward, a book that a prince might study in times of invasion and turbulence." Of Judith he records, "Englished according to my skill, for your example, that you may also defend your country by force of arms against the outrage of foreign hosts." These translations are marked by abridgment and omissions.[2]

Thus the Anglo-Saxon Church had native versions and

[1] The versions of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Esther were published, under the title of Heptateuchus, by Thwaites, Oxford, 1698. Ælfric also composed a brief account of the Old and New Testament; published by W. L'Isle, in 1623; and eighty of his Homilies have been published, under the editorial care of B. Thorpe, by a society which takes Ælfric's name.

From a MS. belonging to Archbishop Parker, which is still preserved in the Bodleian Library, were published, under the editorial care of John Foxe, "The Gospels of the fower Evangelistes translated in the Olde Saxon's tyme out of Latin into the vulgare toung of the Saxons." London, 1571, printed by John Daye. The volume is printed in the same type as Ælfric's sermon on Easter-day, which was the first Anglo-Saxon book that issued from the English press, 1567. The Anglo-Saxon of the Gospels fills about two-thirds of the page, and the other third is occupied with the correspondent verses of the Bishops' Bible, which is now and then changed into harmony with the earlier version. It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and "given into her own hands by her Father Foxe." Marshall conjectures that this book contained Bede's version of St. John's Gospel. An edition, based on that of 1571, was published by Junius the Younger and Marshall, London, 1638; and then in a more correct form, along with the Gothic version, Dordrecht, 1665; and Amsterdam, 1684. A small and useful edition of the Gospels appeared in 1842, edited by B. Thorpe, London and Oxford.

[2] A very accurate and complete edition of the Gospels was published, under the care of Bosworth and Waring, in 1865. It contains in parallel columns the Gothic version of Ulphilas, the first version of Wycliffe, and the first of Tyndale, 1526. For the Anglo-Saxon great pains were bestowed on a collation of the best MSS. In connection with this Polyglott may be commended—Helfenstein's Comparative Grammar of the Teutonic Languages, Macmillan & Co., 1870. Loth's Etymologische Angelsæchsisch - englische Grammatik, Elberfeld, 1870. March's Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language, &c., New York, 1871. Stratmann's Dictionary of Old English, Krefeld, 1867. Bosworth's Origin of English, &c., London, 1847.

glosses, though not in wide diffusion; but the wreck only of such treasures has come down to us. Many copies must have perished in the Danish invasion; and afterwards, through the neglect and contempt of the Norman nobility and ecclesiastics, Saxon manuscripts were often tossed aside as old and useless.[1] We have no proof that the ability to read had been generally acquired by the masses—and these extant volumes and all others which they represent—"what are they among so many?" But the men who translated Scripture into English syllables for Englishmen, felt that in this patriotic labour so far from unhallowing it, they were only giving it the greater glory of adaptation and living power, and they are to be honoured as national benefactors.

In a word, these Anglo-Saxon manuscripts[2] were all of necessity translated from the Latin; the era of Greek scholarship lay still in a remote futurity. The Latin version existed in two different forms—the familiar Vulgate, as partly revised and partly translated by Jerome, and the prior old version, often named the Vetus Itala, which is found in the Latin of the Codex Bezæ—D of the Gospels and Acts;[3] in the Codex Palatinus recently edited by Tischendorf[4]; and on the left-hand page of Blanchini's Evangeliarium Quadruplex. From this Ante-Hieronymian version some of the Anglo-Saxon renderings were taken. It is followed where the Vulgate differs from it, in Matt. xxiii, 14, a verse being omitted which the Vulgate has; and Matt. xx, 28, the old Latin having an addition of some verses chiefly taken from Luke xiv, 7-10. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon version often agrees, not with the Clementine text, but with the best readings of the Vulgate as preserved in the Codex Amiatinus.

[1] Thus in Wanley's Introduction to a catalogue made in A.D. 1248, of Saxon books in the library at Glastonbury, this entry appears—*duo Anglica, vetusta et inutilia.*

[2] Both Mill and Tischendorf refer to the Anglo-Saxon versions in connection with textual criticism.

[3] This Codex, presented to Cambridge by Beza, was edited by Dr. Scrivener, in 1864.

[4] Lipsiæ, 1847.

SECOND PERIOD.

Scandinavian pirates had ravaged the northern shores of France for several years, when Jarl Oscar, in May, 841, sailed up the Seine and plundered Rouen. The same process was repeated by the sea king Regnar Lodbrog and his lawless followers within a brief period. These successes brought another band which in 876, under Rolf or Duke Rollo,[1] a Norwegian rover, conquered and took possession of Neustria, which at length was formally ceded in 912 to the victorious invaders by Charles the Simple. The descendants of these Northmen or Normans soon came to speak the tongue of the people among whom they dwelt, for the warriors took native wives, who were not pure Kelts, but had a large admixture of Roman and Frankish blood. The children naturally used the speech of their mothers. Scandinavian manners and dress were abandoned as well as the Scandinavian tongue, so that, a few years after the death of Duke Rollo, William (Longsword), the second duke, was obliged to send his son to Bayeux[2] to learn Danish, as the Langue Romane[3] was almost the only dialect spoken in his capital city of Rouen. At the council of Mouson-sur-Meuse in 995, the Bishop of Verdun spoke in French. When, under the seventh Duke William, the illegitimate son of Robert the Devil, these Normans invaded England scarcely two centuries after their settlement in France, they brought with them their new language.

But French was not introduced into the island by the conquerors; for, in fact, French influence had been at work in

[1] Or Rou, as in Wace's poem, Roman de Rou. Rolf (Hwrôlf) followed the example of his old ally Guthrun, whom he had helped to ravage the English coast, and was baptized.

[2] Dudo de St. Quentin, lib. iii, p. 112. Bayeux and its territory, the Bessin, had enjoyed at least a double infusion of Teutonic blood.

[3] This Langue Romane assumed in the south of France the form known as the Provençal or Langue-d'Oc, and that in the north became Langue-d'Oyl, the progenitor of modern French; Oc and Oyl (oui) being the different ways of making affirmation. Useful information on the Romance languages will be found in Essays on their "Origin and Formation" by Sir George Cornwall Lewis, London, 1862, 2nd edition.

England for a considerable time. Cnut,[1] the Danish king, had married the widow of Æthelred, Emma, the "gem of the Normans"; and children were often sent out of England to be educated in French monasteries. Edward, the last king of the old line, was the son of a Norman princess, and cousin of Duke William who put forward a claim to the throne of England, based on his childless kinsman's promise. Called to the throne as an Atheling, or a descendant of the royal house of Cerdic, at the death of Harthacnut, third and last of the Danish kings, the Confessor, who had been educated in Normandy, brought the French language into his court, and surrounded himself with Norman ecclesiastics and officers. Important fortresses on the Welsh borders were occupied by foreign soldiers, and, under royal encouragement, many Normans had planted themselves in the cities as merchants. Robert of Jumiege held the primacy of Canterbury; and a faction of the king's French favourites was able, in 1051, to drive Godwin, the great Earl of the West Saxons, out of the kingdom for a time.

The defeat of Harold, on the hill of Senlac behind Hastings, introduced a great and terrible revolution. In the general confiscation, the English secular clergy and not a few mitred dignitaries were gradually set aside; the domains of the higher classes were abruptly torn from the most of them, the others being forced to hold their property by a new tenure as vassals, nay, some of them became socagers, or sank into villeins.[2] The more daring spirits rose in revolt like Hereward, adventurous bands wandered as far as Constantinople and entered the famous Varangian guards, and a fraction of the more reckless, of whom Robin Hood is the popular representative, fled in a spirit of wild revenge to the shelter of the forests, and lived as outlaws and robbers.

It was natural for the victorious Norman nobility and their retainers to cherish their own dialect and disparage that of the humbled and beaten islanders. Lanfranc, who had been trans-

[1] Latinized into Canutus by Pope Paschal II, who could not pronounce the thick Scandinavian monosyllable.

[2] History of the Norman Kings of England, by Thomas Cobbe, Barrister of the Inner Temple, &c., p. 43, London, 1869.

lated to Canterbury, scorned the native saints; and, under him, the Abbot Paul threw down the tombs of his English predecessors in the abbey of St. Albans. But, while French influence so proudly predominated at the court, in towns, and wherever the Norman grandees in the church, the state, and the army had sway, the people clung to their own speech. The situation favoured the success of this popular conservatism. The lower classes, serfs, herdsmen, tillers of the earth, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," suffered little by the Conquest. What befell them was simply a change of masters. They lived on the soil as in former times, and were contented to speak the tongue which their fathers had spoken before them. Besides, the conquerors were only a small minority, originally an army of sixty thousand now dispersed among two millions, so that they could not colonize the country, or mingle largely with the native race. Many of the victorious strangers coveted comparative isolation by fortifying themselves in castles—eleven hundred of which were built in the reign of Stephen. The government was, in fact, a military occupation, which had displaced the nobility and gentry—introduced a new dynasty and a foreign aristocracy. The immediate result was that two languages were spoken side by side, French and English, the former by the governing faction, and the latter by the masses of the people, thousands of whom could have little personal intercourse with the knights and barons of the Conqueror.[1] There occurred in this way the phenomenon described by Robert of Gloucester in his metrical Chronicle, belonging to the latter half of the thirteenth century—"The Normans spoke French and taught it to their children, and the high men of the land did the same, whereas, low men held to English and their natural speech yet; it is advantageous to know both."[2] Trevisa, in his translation of Higden's Polychronicon,[3] laments that against

[1] Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. I, p. 56. King William, immediately after the Conquest, gave an English charter to the city of London.

[2] Hearne's edition, p. 364.

[3] Vol. II, p. 9, Rolls edition. See introduction to the Rolls edition of Higden. Ed. Churchhill Babington, B.D., F.L.S., &c., Cambridge, vol. I, London, 1865. Ranulph Higden was a Benedictine monk of

the manners and usage of all other nations, children at school had to leave their own tongue, and "construe lessons and thinges in French," ever since the Normans came first into England; and that "uplandish people" who would be gentlemen, were making great efforts to master French.

There is no proof whatever of the common accusation that William forbade the use of English[1] to the people, though he enacted that French should be spoken in seats of learning. On the other hand, he tried to master English himself, but at the age of forty-three he found the task too hard and irksome for him.[2] His purpose was to understand the causes brought before him for judgment, and these must have been presented in English. What was impossible to the father was apparently achieved in part by two of his sons. William Rufus gained the help of a portion of his subjects against some Norman rebels in the midst of them, by addressing to them some pithy English words. Henry I (Beauclerc), the Conqueror's youngest son, seems to have been taught English, as he was born in the country, and got the education of an English prince, the son of a crowned king; and he was sometimes left in England when his father and brothers went to Normandy. He is said to have translated Æsop's Fables[3] into English. But French was the tongue of

St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester. The Polychronicon is a universal history, brought down to the year 1342. But the manuscripts somewhat vary as to the date of termination.

[1] Palgrave's England and Normandy, vol. III, p. 627. Thus Thorpe asserts that "William and his fawning courtiers tried in vain to thrust their French into the mouths of the English people."—Analecta Saxonica, Preface, p. 5. Hume writes that William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English language, but adds, what his own style contradicts, "that the mixture of French introduced by William is the greatest and best part of our language."—History, vol. I, p. 259, London, 1825. See also Henry, History, vol. VI, p. 319, London, 1814.

[2] Odericus Vitalis (Ecclesiast. Hist., lib. iv, cap. 7) gives, as the cause of his failure, *durior aetas et tumultus multimodarum occupationum.*

[3] The authority for the statement is Mary of France, who translated the English Fables into French—

De Griu en Latin le turna
Li rois Henris, qui moult l'ama,
Le translata puis en Engleiz.

Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. IV, p. 792.

the court and the aristocracy, and the medium of intercourse in universities. There was also a close connection with the continent for many reigns.[1] Kings of England married French wives. Stephen wedded a daughter of the Court of Boulogne; Maud, Stephen's rival, chose a Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou; Henry the Second espoused Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis the Seventh, and by her obtained large possessions, in addition to Touraine and Anjou, which he held from his father.[2] Richard the First married a daughter of the king of Navarre; John, a daughter of the Count of Angoulême; and Henry the Third, a daughter of the Count of Provence. The second wife of Edward the First was a sister of the King of France; and Edward's son married Isabella, daughter of the French monarch. A single sentence of English is ascribed to Richard I; his chancellor, however, avers that he was wholly ignorant of the island tongue; he was, in fact, a true Provençal poet.

But there had been an incipient coalition of races going on for a considerable time—even while distinction of language remained. The author of the "Dialogue on the Exchequer"—who mentions that he began this work in A.D. 1177, and asserts that he had seen Chief Justice Robert, Earl of Leicester, in 1168, and conversed with Robert of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1171—records of his own knowledge, "already by English and Normans cohabiting and taking wives from each other, the nations are so thoroughly mixed that at this day it can hardly be discovered (I speak of the children) which is of England and which is of Norman race, excepting those who are bound to the soil, and who are called

[1] Henry married Edith, the daughter of the Scottish Queen Margaret, the sister of the Atheling Edgar, her name being changed into Matilda. She had been trained by her English mother in the palatial Abbey of Dunfermline, and was loved as the "good" Queen Maud. The king, from his English likings and his use of English speech, was sneered at by the Normans as Gaffer Goodrich, his queen being called Cummer Godgifu.

[2] "It was not the Englishman who reigned over Anjou, but the Angevine who reigned over England." Freeeman's Historical Essays, p. 194.

villeins."[1] In Magna Charta no mention is made of different races, the nation is regarded as a homogeneous unity, and this—149 years after the conquest. In the reign of King John, Normandy, which had been held for four centuries by the House of Rolf the Ganger, was lost, and one result was that this island became more and more a home to the Normans, and French became more and more of a foreign tongue to them. English had not only survived, but was spreading itself through the upper classes. Norman children could not be kept from learning it; and the higher ranks, being a minority, felt the necessity of acquiring it.[2] By the end of the thirteenth century English seems to have become the mother tongue of the aristocracy; their children being taught French as a foreign language, and as an accomplishment befitting their rank.

Thus all the while the English tongue had preserved itself, and even asserted its national pre-eminence. Of this wondrous vitality there was a remarkable proof and example when, in 1258, Henry III, in the forty-second year of his reign, issued in the form of letters patent a Proclamation in French and English,[3] the first language for the nobility and the second for the body of the people. This is the first specimen of popular English since the Conquest; and the "folk" must have felt that such appeal to them in their own tongue betokened the dawning of a new era.

Mandeville in his preface to his Travels, published in 1356, says that he wrote his book first in Latin which he rendered into French, and then translated it "out of Frensche into Englysch, that every man of my nacion may understond it." In 1362 an Act of Parliament, itself written in French, ordained that all pleadings in courts of law should be in

[1] This work, Dialogus de Scaccario, has been ascribed to Gervase of Tilbury, and to Richard, Bishop of London.

[2] Preface to Wright's edition of the Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, p. xxvii. A knight, named Walter de Billesworth, compiled a treatise for teaching French to the children of the nobility, the French text of the work being accompanied with an interlinear English gloss.

[3] Edited by Alex. J. Ellis, Philological Society. Asher & Co., London.

English, as suitors no longer knew French. In the same year the first king's speech was delivered to the representatives of the people in English; but the first statutes recorded and printed in English are those of Richard III, though they were entered on the Rolls of Parliament in French.[1] Pierre de Langtoft wrote his Chronicle[2] in French; but in a brief space he appears as Peter Langtoft in Brunne's English Translation. Edward III commonly used French, but in 1346 he rebuked "such as would wish to blot out the English tongue"; and in 1349 he appeared at a tournament with an English legend on his shield. Froissart notes as singular the knowledge of French possessed by his grandson, Richard II, who spoke to the rebels under Wat Tyler in their birth tongue, and easily pacified them. Gower, who wrote the last work in French of any importance—Speculum Meditantis—virtually apologizes for writing in that tongue; and in his preface to his English poem, written at the request of King Richard—the Confessio Amantis[3]—though he styles himself a "borel clerke," he professes to set an example by writing in "oure Englisshe." Trevisa,[4] in 1387, remarking on the change that had taken place in the relative position of the two languages, says, in his own quaint way, "that the old custom had been reversed in a great measure through the effort of John Cornwaile, maister of gramer," so that now, "in the year of our Lord 1385, in all the gramer scholes of England children leaveth Frensch and construeth and learneth English"—the advantage being that pupils make speedy progress, and

[1] Rymer mentions an English statute of 1368, and there is an English contract connected with the Convent of Whitby of 1343.

[2] See Preface to Wright's edition of the Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft.

[3] Printed by Caxton, 1493, and edited by Pauli, London, 1857.

[4] Trevisa, a native of Cornwall, and fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, translated Higden's Polychronicon out of Latin into English, and finished his translation, as he intimates himself, on Thursday, the 18th of April, 1387. It was written at the request of Lord Berkeley, and dedicated to him in an epistle beginning thus—"I, John Trevisa, your prieste and bedeman, obedyent and buxom, to worke your wylle." It was printed by Caxton in 1482, but "he somewhat chaunged the rude and Old Englysch." Trevisa's name will occur again in the next chapter.

the disadvantage being that ignorance of French becomes a great bar to travel in foreign countries. But French itself had suffered by its transplantation into England, and Chaucer ridicules the French learned by young ladies at school.[1] The same poet also counsels, "Let clerkes endyten in Latyn.... and Frenchmen in their French also endyte theyr quaint termes, for it is kyndly to theyr mouths, and let us show our fantasyes in such wordes as we learneden of our dames' tonge."

Though the language was still the old English tongue, it came out of all this turmoil and conflict wondrously transfigured. It once had a homogeneous vocabulary, but foreign words had now crept into it; and it had a synthetic structure, but its precise and self-adjusting syntax had passed out of use. It was, however, touched in structure before its substance was added to. In the proclamation of Henry III, already referred to, there are but two foreign words—terms of rank or office—Duke and Marshall. In the 5,700 lines of the two texts of Layamon's Brut, though it was translated from French and Latin, there are not more than a hundred words of Latin or Norman origin. Out of 2,300 words of the Ormulum, not more than sixty are foreign, and of these, ten are from Latin and not one from Norman. In Mandeville's Prologue of 1,200 words, only 130 are of Latin origin, and thirty of them are new. Several words of his coinage have kept their place.[2] In many of the authors of the thirteenth century the new words do not amount to more than five per cent. According to Coleridge's Glossarial Index, the entire stock of words in literary use in the same century amounted to 8,000, and only about 1,000 of them are of Latin or Romance origin. About Chaucer's period, English began to receive many additions to its stock.[3]

[1] And French she spake full fayre and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford atte Bow,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe.

[2] As abstain, abundant, cause, calculate, contrary, convenient, discover, faithful, inspiration, obstacle, quantity, temporal, testament, subjection.

[3] The Danes had neither an acknowledged grammar nor any literature, and there was an antipathy in Norse or Danish to final syllables employed to mark cases and conju-

But English is not in the strict sense a composite language, nor is it the mere result of the fusion of Saxon or Norman; for its grammar in its essential elements is Saxon, modified in many ways and simplified, all its auxiliary verbs and its particles, "the bolts, pins, and hinges," being of native origin. But what is first apparent after the Norman Conquest is not so much the introduction of new terms as the destruction of the numerous inflectional terminations of the older Saxon tongue, a change which might to some extent have passed over it in course of time though the Conquest had never taken place. A similar change was at that period passing over the other dialects of Germanic stock; for such disintegration is inherent in language and was becoming apparent before the year 1066. Price,[1] Guest,[2] Hallam and others make this innate tendency the sole cause of the linguistic revolution in England. The statement is as extreme as the other theory, which supposes that the Norman Conquest, merely by the inbringing of another dialect, effected the decomposition of the older tongue. But the Norman Conquest wrought in this way: it broke up that form of civilization to which the Anglo-Saxon speech belonged as its creation and representative. The social changes were extreme and irresistible, and they swept the upper ranks into universal ruin.[3] Books could have no charms for the churls

gations. This influence had been felt during three reigns, and the Danelagh comprised the larger portion of Mercia, Northumberland, and East Anglia. The reader will find admirable lists of native and foreign terms in the "Historical Outlines of English Accidence," pp. 35 and 377, by Richard Morris, LL.D., London, 1873. Dr. Morris shows that foreign terms are more numerous than they are sometimes alleged to be, there being in the Ancren Riwle, 428, and in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, 570.

[1] Preface to Warton's History of English Poetry, pp. 85, 86, &c.

[2] English Rhythms, vol. II, p. 105. See also Murray's History of European Languages. Craik's History of English Literature, &c., vol. I, p. 150. Yet Icelandic has remained unchanged for seven centuries.

[3] Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv, p. 323. Thierry's History of the Norman conquest, Vol. I, p. 193, Bohn. Twenty years after the Conquest, when William in 1086, summoned his great council at Salisbury, there was not one English earl, and only one English bishop, to respond to the summons. The ecclesiastics were more rancorous in

and villeins who were thrust unceremoniously under a foreign yoke. Many of the best born ladies became the prey "par marriage," or "par amours," of the lowest of the Bastard's followers. "Ignoble grooms did as they pleased with the noblest women, and left them nothing but to weep and wish for death."[1]

This sweeping territorial revolution broke the spirit of the people, chilled free thought and culture, destroyed all impulse to write in the native tongue and all pride in preserving its purity. The result of this abrupt and violent cessation of Anglo-Saxon literature[2] was, that the language, left to itself as simply a spoken language, began to alter and work itself free from its more exact grammatical intricacies. Probably the people never spoke the older tongue as it was written in books; and their freer speech, unchecked by any literary models or contrasts, and in the absence or displacement of the educated thanes or gentry, came to be at length the prevailing tongue. Normans and Saxons were of necessity obliged to make themselves understood to one another, and both were naturally content to use a few words of the other's vocabulary without any great regard to the grammar on either side. Prior to the Conquest care had been taken in literary composition of terminations indicating gender and case, number and tense, and of other minute and elaborate

their hostility than the soldiers. Stigand was deposed from the primacy to make way for Lanfranc, who is said also to have seized many copies of the Scripture and corrected them with his own hand, on the pretence that the Saxon scribes had corrupted them.

[1] As a specimen of the displacement of native proprietors, it may be mentioned that 60,000 knights' fees were established by the Conqueror, that the crown lands were made up of more than 1,400 manors, one of the Conqueror's brothers being put in possession of over 800 in nineteen counties, and another having nearly 500 in seventeen counties; and hundreds were possessed by other favourites—all lands of the nation, both of tenants in capite and their sub-tenants, being at the same time vested in William as supreme Over-Lord.

[2] The Saxon Chronicle itself ceased about a century after the Conquest, 1154. Edited by Edmund Gibson, A.B., e Collegio Reginæ, Oxonii, 1692; and more recently by B. Thorpe, Rolls edition.

peculiarities; but such niceties were so embarrassing in conversation, that they soon came to be slipped over and finally put aside. So that what happened to the Greek language after the fall of Constantinople, and to the Latin after the overthrow of the Empire, happened in a similar way to the tongue of the Saxon races in these islands after Duke William's invasion.[1]

In the times after the Conquest the article se, seo, thæt, with its five cases, lost the first two forms, and finally passed into the simple indeclinable definite article. The conventional genders and the declensions of nouns faded away; the cases, with the exception of the -'s of the genitive, sank out of view; relations were expressed by prepositions; and the "-e" that marked the dative became first silent, as in Wycliffe, and then was dropped. When the earlier terminations were all merged in -e, person, case, number, and tense soon ceased to be individually represented. Adjectives lost all distinction of number, gender, and case; the interrogative and relative, retaining only a genitive and accusative, became the same in singular and plural; whereas the demonstratives "this" and "that," while they preserved a plural form, lost all difference of case. The plural endings in -a, -e, -en, save in a few words, were superseded by the Norman termination "-s." Adjectives which, as in modern German, had declensions and grammatical genders, passed through the same changes as the nouns. The dual of the pronoun grew obsolete; and "heo," feminine of "he," was altered into "she." Many strong preterites became weak; conjugations were formed by means of auxiliaries; the infinitive, which had ended in -an or -en, first losing the -n, prefixed "to," and latterly "for to"; the third person singular, being still found in the "-eth" of the old

[1] Some of the gradual changes may be seen by comparing the second column of Skeat's Anglo-Saxon Mark with the earlier text in the one by its side. See also his Preface, p. xxvii. Prof. Whitney justly remarks that such vocal changes proceed usually from indolence, as man has an "instinctive disposition to seek relief from" the effort to articulate, or to do it with the least possible trouble. Language and the Study of Language, p. 195, New York, 1872.

and the Biblical English, while "-ath" of the plural, which Norman lips "could not frame to pronounce," disappeared, and -en for a while took its place. The participle was no longer declined. Participial and infinitival endings were confounded, and the gerundial infinitive crumbled away. Both modes of comparison have however been preserved—the Anglo-Saxon by "-er," "-est," and an imitation of Norman by "more" and "most." The Norman preposition "de" with the genitive was not adopted, the Anglo-Saxon "of" was accepted, and the -'s was also retained. One regrets that the plural "-en" of verbs has been lost, and indeed Spenser was unable to preserve it. One is sorry too that -s, with its hissing sound, should so often occur; for it has superseded not only the -eth of the third person singular, but also the old plural termination of nouns and verbs, while at the same time there are many words ending in -ess. In Anglo-Saxon the plural of masculine nouns only ended in -s; but, with few exceptions, all plurals in French were so formed, and the terminations passed into English.[1] Special feminine forms, like -ster (spinster), have come to end in -ess, or are retained as exceptional.[2]

Such is a brief and imperfect sketch of the gradual alterations which passed over the old Anglo-Saxon during two centuries and a half, when our modern English was "in making." Though the process lopped off many branchlets and twigs, it left the living trunk which soon renewed its youth, and putting forth fresh vigour and beauty, formed a national

[1] In Jeremy Taylor's famous image of the lark, there are eleven sibilants in the first thirty-one words.

[2] The Priest Layamon's Brut or Chronicle of Britain, written before A.D. 1200, is a translation of the Norman Wace's Brut, and was edited by Sir Frederick Madden, London, 1847. It is in the dialect of North Worcestershire, and marks a period of transition when the written language had been loosened by the spoken tongue. Infinitives have "to" prefixed, weak tenses are introduced, "a" is used as an article, genders and inflections are not carefully observed, -en supersedes -on in the plural of verbs. Similar transitional style is found, with some variations, in Havelok, and in Piers Ploughman, the Ancren Riwle (Anchoresses' Rule), edited by Morton, 1853, and a later poem, the Harrowing (harrying) of Hell. See Dr. Angus's Handbook of the English Tongue, London, 1869.

tongue in which Wycliffe was able at length to give an English Bible to the English people. In fine, it was surely natural that the early English tongue, in spite of exotic additions and changes in spelling and structure, should cling to an Englishman throughout his national history, and that to it should belong the terms which tell what he sees above him and around him, in fruits, flowers, and seasons, which describe his own physical organs and his inner emotions, the weapons he wields, the tools he handles, the products of his handywork, and the animals about him in pasture and tillage, and which name the close and familiar relations of life, his heart and his home, and his surroundings from birth to death.

In this old tongue, which some in its first shape have called Anglo-Norman or early English, we have a Psalter in prose, with the Canticles of the Church, before the year 1200, and a prose translation of a large portion of the Bible before 1360. Among these early translations one is distinguished as the Ormulum,[1] after its author Orm or Ormin, a canon of the Order of St. Augustine, and is probably of northern origin. He dedicates[2] to his brother his poem, which is a versified paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts in the style of Latin tetrameter iambics, and consists of 20,000 lines. Though it is a specimen of the tongue of the time of Henry II, the older case endings have almost disappeared. About his orthography the author is very careful, and forewarns all transcribers to maintain literal accuracy, as if he had felt that the English of his day needed a special and intelligent guardianship, that amidst growing changes it might not degenerate. A similar

[1] The author himself intimates, "This book is named Ormulum, for that Orm it wrought (made)." The Ormulum was edited from MSS. in the Bodleian, with a glossary and notes, by Robert Meadows White, D.D. Two vols., Oxford, 1852.

[2] In the dedication to his brother, he says—

Icc hafe wennd inntill Enneglissh,
Goddspelless hallghe lore.
I have turned into English
Gospel's holy lore.

He spells with a single consonant after a vowel which has its name sound, but doubles the consonant after a vowel otherwise pronounced, as we similarly do in such forms as tale, tall, mute, dull.

work—"Story of Genesis and Exodus"—is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge;[1] and in the Bodleian at Oxford is a long poem called Salus Animi (Sowlehele), soul-health, a diffuse paraphrastic version of Scripture. There is also a Psalter in verse, dated at the conclusion of the thirteenth century, which is fairly translated, and is characterized by its expressive simplicity; and as six copies are still extant, it must have enjoyed some circulation. There exists a prose translation of the Psalms into this old English, by William de Schorham,[2] who in 1320 became vicar of Chart-Sutton, in Kent. The Latin and English are verse for verse, and the version in the southern dialect is remarkably good.[3] A manuscript of a Psalter of the fourteenth century, giving the name of John Hyde as its owner, and lying in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, appears to be a revised edition of Schorham. Numerous copies, either fragmentary or complete, exist of another version, in the northern dialect, of the Psalms, made by Richard Rolle, Chantry priest of Hampole, near Doncaster, and often called the Hermit of Hampole. He seems to have been a recluse of the Order of St. Augustine, and he died in 1349 in the odour of sanctity. According to Baber, "his life was devotion, and his amusement study." Having written a Latin commentary on the Psalms, he afterwards translated them into English with an English commentary. The existing manuscripts vary much—the commentary in some is very short, and in others is of undue length; but the preface is the same in all. The shorter commentary probably represents the original form, and the number of the existing copies and the frequent revisions show that the work must have had a considerable circulation. The spelling and language have been retouched from time to time. Prefixed to a copy in the Bodleian Library are some verses of a later age, which describe the origin of the work, and this MS. is probably of the period of Henry VI. The writer asserts that the version was made at

[1] Edited by Richard Morris, London, 1865.

[2] Forshall and Madden's Introduction to Wycliffe, p. iii.

[3] He adopts in the 1st verse of Psalm i, the reading or gloss *judicio falsitatis* instead of *cathedra pestilentiæ*.

the request of Dame Margaret Kirkby, and that the original copy was still kept in the nunnery, chained to Hampole's tomb, but adds

> "Copyed has this Sauter been of yvil men of Lollardry.
> And afturwards hit has bene sene ympyd in with eresy."

Hampole thus describes his own procedure: "In this werke I seke no strange ynglys, but lightest and communest, and swilk is most like unto the Latyne, so that thai that knowes noght the Latyne be the ynglys may come to many Latin wordis. In the translacion I feloghe the letter als-mekille as I may, &c."

It was very natural that the Gospels should be so often selected for translation and for glossing, and indeed the very name of the Saviour as Hælend (Healer) must have come home with a thrill to many souls, on which the stately Latin terms could make no impression; for the Healer had delivered from all maladies, had revealed the Divine Fatherhood, and lifted the burden from broken hearts, binding up their wounds, and filling them with power and life. But the favourite portion of Scripture first selected for translation in these times as in all times, was the Psalms, and one can scarcely wonder at the preference; for this Hebrew anthology contains hymns of earnest aspiration, thanksgiving, and self-communing, in which the devout spirit finds a second self. The melody of the Psalmist has many moods, but the song is ever the genuine outburst of his heart, and the reader is lured into living sympathy with it—nay, as it throbs underneath the page, he is brought into immediate fellowship with the singer, and not with his shadow. For himself, in his various changes, is embodied in his Psalms, whether he sinks in deep contrition or soars away in spiritual rapture, whether he extols mercy or sinks into awe before judgment, or whether he lays his sword and sceptre at the foot of the Throne in offer of suit and service or in acknowledgment that the kingdom and the victory are alike from God. The Psalter is the poetry of the spiritual life; its beauty, power, and freshness never fail, for it does not consist of abstract and impersonal effusions, or of objective

theological dogmas. Difference of age and country at once fades away. In the sorrows of this representative bard many a soul has seen its own, and has felt the load lightened by its share in his recorded consolations; while his loftier strains so glide in to the "merry heart" that it sings them without any sense of strangeness, without any consciousness of formal appropriation. Therefore the Psalms have always been very cherished companions, not simply because they are a body of divine truth bearing on man's highest interests, but because they come home to human experiences and tenderly touch them on so many points, because they are not only the true elements of public worship, but may also be murmured in earnest soliloquy as the spirit in confidence and joyousness lifts itself to God. Many of these lyrics also bear a national character, and, in those old days of constant battle and frequent disaster, they must often have inspired courage, hope, and renewed trust in Him who is King of all people, and the Lord of armies. Though they sometimes present in mournful tones the wanton desolation brought in by a foreign foe, they at the same time pour comfort into the ear of the forlorn daughter of Zion, covered with sackcloth and sitting in the dust. So that their peculiar adaptation to the numerous national changes and adversities of these early periods was often felt; and they must have revived many saintly, and cheered many patriotic mourners.

We know not how far Anglo-Saxon or Old English literature, common or Biblical, spread into Scotland. In 547, Ida established himself with a band of Angles in Northumberland, or rather in the old British province of Bernicia of which Bamborough was the capital. This territory of Bernicia soon extended through the country between the Tweed and the Forth which was then called the "Scots' water," Scotland proper lying to the north of it. One of the kings gave his name to a town and castle lying at the northern extremity of his dominion—Edwin-burgh—Edinburgh. About the middle of the tenth century the Lothians were formally given over to Kenneth by Edgar and his Witan on condition that the inhabitants should be allowed their laws, language, and

customs. As Anglo-Saxon literature was earnestly cultivated in the north of England which possessed the flourishing monasteries of Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Hexham, and as the Christianity of Northumberland had a close connection with Iona, it is more than probable that some copies of Scripture would find their way across the border, and in that language which has kept its hold on the Lowlands, and yet survives so fully in the people's tongue. Norman settlers formed also in the course of time a distinct and important element of the Scottish population.[1] The changes that passed over the Anglo-Saxon tongue in England must have been felt also in Scotland; but no specimen survives save in the popular dialect.[2] The King of Scots sometimes reigned over all the inhabitants, but, the Scots proper, and their tongue, the Gaelic, is yet far from being extinct.[3]

[1] The king's writs, about the time of William the Lion, were addressed to Franks and Angles, Scots and Galwegians. A coin of William of Scotland, in 1165, bears on it a French inscription. Alexander III, in 1249, took the coronation oath in Latin and in French. Wallace, Bruce, Comyn, Baliol, and the Stewarts, were of Norman lineage.

[2] Interesting information may be found in Murray's "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland." Transactions of the Philological Society, 1870, part II, London, 1873. The Scots came originally from Ireland, and brought their name and language with them. In the time of James VI, the islanders of the Hebrides are called Irishmen in an Act of Parliament of 1593, and in an Act of the General Assembly of the Kirk, 1717, Gaelic is called Irish, the commoner form being Erse.

[3] So that the words of the old Latin hymn of Bothe, Archbishop of York (1476), are still true to some extent—

"In cunctis planis Anglorum lingua choruscat,
Ast in montanis barbara Scota sonat."

WYCLIFFE.

Then from the dawn it seemed there came, but faint,
As from beyond the limit of the world,
Like the last echo born of a great cry,
Sounds, as if some fair city were one voice
Around a king returning from his wars.
Thereat once more he moved about, and clomb
E'en to the highest he could climb, and saw,
Straining his eyes beneath an arch of hand,
Or thought he saw, the speck that bare the king
Down that long water opening on the deep
Somewhere far off, pass on and on, and go
From less to less and vanish into light,
And the New Sun rose, bringing the New Year.

CHAPTER I.

THERE is surely every reason why all men should have the Word of God in their own tongue so as not to be wholly dependent on oral instruction. For the Bible contains not only the seminal truths of theology and those higher doctrines which find fitting expression in service and worship, but it takes up the relations, duties, and trials of social and public life. It has a loving edict for the parent, and another for the child. It offers a word to the master, with a reciprocal word to the servant; and it contains a directory for the hearth and household. It breathes promises of special tenderness to the widow and orphan, and presents indescribable comfort and hope to the bereaved. It dwells on patience and humility, condescension and self-denial, disinterested love and unwearied beneficence, as characteristic graces. Buyer and seller are included in its equitable precepts; tilling, sowing, and reaping find a place among its allusions; and even the animals yoked to labour are not forgotten in its pervading kindness. It sanctions the sword of the magistrate, and enjoins the "quiet and peaceable" life of the citizen. The wages of the soldier, the hire of the workman, the thirst and weariness of the traveller, the care of the poor and the stranger, are not beneath its notice. The maiden is wedded with its blessing, and the grave is closed under its comforting assurances. In hallowing the "life that now is," it shows the pathway to "that which is to come." In the entire range of literature, no book is so frequently quoted or referred to. The text of no ancient author has summoned into operation such an amount of labour; and it has furnished occasion for the most masterly examples

of criticism and comment. The fathers of the first centuries expounded it, and the divines of the middle ages refined upon its statements. It whetted the penetration of Abelard, and exercised the keenness and subtlety of Aquinas. It gave life to the revival of letters, and Dante and Petrarch revelled in its imagery. Our New Testament has inspired the English muse with her loftiest strains. It does effective service in many of the dialogues of Shakespeare; its beams gladdened Milton in his darkness, and cheered the soul of Cowper in his sadness. Among the Christian classics it opened up spheres of thought and research to Ussher, Jewel, and Lardner; it charged the fulness of Hooker, barbed the point of Baxter, gave colours to the palette and sweep to the pencil of Bunyan, and enriched the fragrant fancy of Taylor.

The Bible is thus a people's book, overshadowing with its authority individuals, households, churches, and kingdoms; including in its jurisdiction persons of every rank, age, and calling, from birth to death; telling all men what to believe, what to obey, and how to suffer; developing a nation's wealth in its truest form, and fostering liberty and fraternity in their only genuine merit and meaning. The people of this country were naturally very glad to have such a volume in their common speech; and when they got any fragment of it they cherished it with reverential fondness, and in days when it was forbidden to have it or read it, they secreted it with jealous care, and in a quiet hour took it from its concealment and stealthily pondered over it. No wonder that so many men and women suffered all penalties rather than give it up or confess that it was criminal to have the Psalter or Gospels in their "own tongue wherein they were born." The man therefore who first gave such a gift in its integrity to his people deserves to be "held in everlasting remembrance."

The year and place of the birth of John of Wycliffe cannot be definitely ascertained, but his territorial surname was probably taken from the parish of his birth, in the vicinity of Richmond, Yorkshire.[1] There were several persons who

[1] The various accounts of the date and locality of the Reformer's birth, and the incidents of his career, may be found in the various chapters of

bore it: a William de Wycliffe, one of the fellows of Balliol, where John was Master; and in 1363, William de Wycliffe was presented by a John de Wycliffe to the rectory of Wycliffe-on-Tees. The time of his birth also can only be conjectured. Probably it was before A.D. 1324. Nor do we know when he entered the University of Oxford, though he is said to have been enrolled in Queen's College in the very year of its foundation. But this date of 1340, commonly assigned as the commencement of his academic life, has no tangible ground of support. It is certain, however, that he was Master of Balliol in 1361. On the 4th of May of the same year, he was presented by his College to the rectory of Fylingham, in Lincolnshire, and shortly afterwards he went to reside on his living. The common assertion that he was, in December, 1365, appointed Warden of Canterbury Hall, by Archbishop Islip its founder, rests on insufficient evidence, for the chronicles are silent about it. No contemporary mentions it but Wodeford, and Professor Shirley has at least shaken the validity of his testimony.[1] Besides, the Reformer was Doctor by 1366; but in 1365 the Master of Canterbury Hall is simply called Master of Arts in his deed of appointment. Three years afterwards he is styled Bachelor of Divinity; while the Reformer had been a Doctor of several years' standing at that period. The wardenship of Canterbury Hall, and the fellowship of Merton College, may therefore belong to another John Wycliffe, or Whyteclyve, Vicar of Mayfield. Islip, according to Archbishop Parker, intended to invest his hall with the

his life, as written by Lewis, London, 1720; Gilpin, Do., 1766; Vaughan, Do., 1828, 1831; and in a Monograph, 1853; Le Bas, 1832; Baber in his Preface to his edition of the New Testament, 1810; and Lechler's Johannes von Wiclif, Leipzig, 1873. Interesting information on these and other points may be found in Forshall and Madden's edition of the Wycliffite Versions. Oxford, 1850. The name itself is spelt in several ways, the commoner forms being Wiclif and Wyclif.

[1] Introduction to his edition of the Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wiclif cum tritico, ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, London, 1858. There are also able articles on Wycliffism by Lewald and Lechler, in Neidner's Zeitschrift, 1846-47-53.

patronage of Mayfield; and from Mayfield the deed of appointment to the wardenship is dated.[1] Prior to 1367 Wycliffe had become one of the royal chaplains to Edward III, and in November, 1368, he exchanged his first living of Fylingham for that of Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire, being presented to it by Sir John Pavely, Prior of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. In 1374 he was preferred by the king to the rectory of Lutterworth, and in this parish he laboured till his death. He was also, on the 6th of November, 1375, confirmed by the crown in the prebend of Aust in the collegiate church of Westbury; but in the same month he resigned the appointment. It would seem that at several periods in 1363-4, 1374-5, and 1380, Wycliffe rented rooms in Queen's College, and that he often preached before the University. He was never, in the modern sense, a professor of divinity, though the statement has been often made; but as the degree of Doctor conferred the privilege of lecturing, the title in Latin being *Sacræ Theologiæ Professor*, he certainly availed himself of his academic position in the first theological school of Europe to expound and enforce his views. The "word of the Lord was as a fire in his bones," and he "could not refrain." His terseness and earnestness were irresistible; his power and popularity produced abundant fruit. Any detailed account of his doctrines, or of the various charges and prosecutions to which they led, is not necessary to our present purpose. His firm and avowed resistance to the Romish usurpation, to its tyrannous policy, its crooked diplomacy, and its unscriptural theology, so edged and animated his sermons, speeches, and publications, both in Latin and English, that he could not be overlooked; for he had not spoken in honeyed words or in whispered rebuke, and his honest, patriotic wrath had boiled over in racy and unsparing denunciation. Though he was a realist, he had ventured to impugn the central tenet of transubstantiation, affirming that the body of the Lord is spiritually or sacra-

[1] On this point of the wardenship the evidence is not perfectly satisfactory. Dean Hook accepts at once Professor Shirley's theory of two Wycliffes, Dean Milman remained in doubt, but Dr. Vaughan held without hesitation to the common opinion. Monograph, c. iii, pp. 42-63.

mentally present, though the elements of bread and wine remain unchanged. At length, after being arraigned several times, his doctrines were formally condemned, and the Reformer, who had experienced the fickleness of princes, for his patron, John of Gaunt,[1] had deserted him in the crisis, felt it necessary to withdraw finally from Oxford to his parish of Lutterworth, where he spent the last two years of his life. Though, according to Dr. Gascoigne,[2] his health had already been broken by incipient paralysis, his literary industry was still incessant, and many of his works, including his noted Trialogus, were published during this interval. But his fertile brain sunk at length under the intense and continuous pressure. On the 29th of December, 1384, as he was officiating at mass, he was struck with palsy, and he died on the last day of the year.[3]

The literary works of Wycliffe—the longer ones in Latin which spoke to the educated mind of Europe, and the shorter ones in English—are very numerous; and Professor Shirley's

[1] At his trial in St. Paul's, before Courtenay, then Bishop of London, he was befriended, with some bravado, by John of Gaunt, and the Earl Marshal Lord Percy, the father of Hotspur. The further procedure of another trial at Lambeth was forbidden by Sir Lewis Clifford, in name of the Dowager Princess of Wales, granddaughter of Edward I, and now widow of the Black Prince and mother of the reigning king. Her first husband had been the Earl of Kent, and the eldest brother of Courtenay had married her sister. Courtenay himself was the fourth son of the Earl of Devon, his mother, Margaret de Bohun, also being a grand-daughter of Edward I.

[2] Cotton MSS., Otho 14, British Museum. He had declined on account of physical debility to obey a summons from Urban VI to appear at Rome.

[3] "In the ninth yere of this kyng, John Wiclif, the orgon of the devel, the enmy of the Cherch, the confusion of men, the ydol of heresie, the meroure of ypocrisie, the norischer of scisme, be the rithful dome of God, was smet with a horibil paralsie threwoute his body." Walsingham, Hist. Angl., p. 119, ed. by Henry F. Riley, Rolls ed. According to Capgrave, this "rightful doom of God" was very visible, for he was smitten on the day of St. Thomas (Becket), and he died on that of St. Silvester, and both saints he had treated with unbelieving scorn. Chronicle, p. 240, edited by H. C. Hingeston, Rolls ed., 1858.

catalogue, of more than sixty octavo pages, does not contain nearly the whole of them. There are many copies in the British Museum, in the University Libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, in the library of Lambeth Palace, in the Chapter Library at Prague, and very many in the Imperial Library of Vienna. Many productions have been wrongly ascribed to him; and the genuineness of what is called his first work, "The Last Age of the Church," is liable to very grave suspicions. The extreme form in which he expressed some of his opinions might tend to mislead the unwary, who might not trace his own fences, or follow out his own distinctions. Though he was the most popular writer in Europe, he was often obliged to explain himself. "Many lewd opinions or misconceptions were fathered upon him," while men like Melanchthon misunderstood both his politics and his theology.[1] But our immediate concern is not with Wycliffe's general works, nor with the harmony of his views, nor the consistency of his own acting with his avowed opinions. These things belong to a history of the period. Collier, Milner, Lewis, Le Bas, Lingard, Gilpin, Massingberd, Vaughan, and Lechler will be found to differ widely in their estimate of the Reformer's deeds and doctrines.

Three epochs may be noted in Wycliffe's life:—the first during which he published logical, physical, and philosophical treatises. The second is marked by his works as a reformer, given more to destruction than re-organization. The third is distinguished by productions specially polemical; and, indeed, in the preface to the "De Dominio Divino" he indicates his intention of devoting the rest of his time and labour to theology. Professor Shirley says, "This preface seems to me the true epoch of the beginning of the English Reformation," Wycliffe translated many verses and clauses for his

[1] Luther refers to him as spitzigen Wycleff; and after admitting *Inspexi Wiglephum tantum*, Melanchthon accuses him of not believing or holding the righteousness of faith. Milner virtually accepts the accusation, and insinuates that "it is not to be wondered at that he who maintained that tithes were mere alms" should be accused of supporting Tyler and Straw. Church Hist., vol. v, pp. 120-130.

"English[1] Tracts"; and such renderings made by him for an immediate end differ often from his formal translation. Others, to serve a similar purpose, must have done the same—translated for themselves. Thus Chaucer, in his "Parson's Tale," rendered for himself; and the majority of more than ninety of his quotations bear no resemblance to Wycliffe's version, though a few have the unavoidable similitude of two versions of the same easy Latin.

[1] It is one of the charges of Polydore Vergil against him that, not content with writing Latin tracts, he wrote English ones also. "Commentarios patria lingua conscriptos fecit." Hist. Angliæ, lib. 19.

CHAPTER II.

WYCLIFFE had always valued Scripture far above tradition and ecclesiastical authority. He had been in alliance with it during all his public career, as he had found in it the basis of his arguments and the edge and power of his rebukes. He had written several works on the Gospels, and he had expounded other sections of the New Testament, especially the Apocalypse, a book which sounded like a trumpet peal in those days of plague, when Death on the pale horse seemed to be careering through the land. His prelections, sermons, and tracts had ever brought him into connection with Scripture, which he—as we have just said—translated on quoting it. At length, from these perpetual fractional renderings, there naturally rose up before his mind the project of preparing a full translation, and if the project were challenged, he had but to reply, Why should not every man's guide be in every man's hand? Before 1378, he does not distinctly dwell on the duty of giving to his age an English Bible, but after that year there are in his writings allusions which imply that the idea was growing to be a fixed and familiar one. About the period of his retirement from Oxford in 1381, the enterprise involving issues so momentous had been begun, the portions translated being put into immediate circulation. A review of his past services, with their difficulties, dangers, and obstacles; a survey of the civil and ecclesiastical condition of the country; and a prophetic anticipation of the benefits to be derived from an unfettered national Bible, strengthened him in his purpose, and enabled him to carry it through before his death. The mind of Wycliffe was thus drawn by many concurrent influences to

the work of translation; and his translated Scriptures met, and were intended to meet, the great want of his time.[1]

And, first, several forms of agitation and conflict were tending to unsettle old traditional opinions and beliefs, and many inquirers were longing for the possession of the written Verity in the language of their own day. For the age of Wycliffe was one of great excitement; and the papal supremacy as a foreign usurpation had begun to encounter stout resistance. From the days of the weak King John, and during the long reign of his son, Henry III, whom Dante has put into his purgatory as an idiot or simpleton, the Popes had been trafficking largely in English benefices. Strangers held rich livings and did no duty, as they were either ignorant of the language or were absentees, so that, besides the payment of Peter's pence, large sums were sent abroad to papal courtiers and dependents, who plundered the country with unwearying and unsatisfied rapacity. In wantonness of power, Pope Innocent IV had commanded Grosseteste,[2] Bishop of Lincoln, to induct his nephew, Di Lavagna, into one of his canonries, "any statute of the church notwithstanding." Pope Honorius asked a living to be given to a man who was deacon of Thessalonica, and insisted that two prebends in every cathedral should be held in perpetuity by his nominees. The deanery of Salisbury was held by the Cardinal of St. Prassede, that of Lichfield by the Cardinal of St. Sabina, and that of York by the Cardinal of St. Angelo, as if "God had given his sheep not to be pastured, but to be shaven and shorn." These are but samples of the papal love of gold and power, taken from a return presented to the crown of benefices held by aliens. But, in 1366, Edward III and his parliament had refused to pay the Italian Pontiff, Urban V, the annual

[1] It is notable that at this time various attempts toward a translation were made by different parties. Forshall & Madden's preface, pp. xi-xiv.

[2] The letter of the Pope, making the request, and Grosseteste's "bitter pistle" of refusal may be seen in Grosseteste's Epistolæ, p. 432, Rolls ed. His friend, Adam de Marisco, praises the letter as "powerful, fearless, prudent, and eloquent"; but the Pope, on receiving it, stormed at the writer of it as insane—*surdus et absurdus.* Ibid., p. lxxx.

tribute, which had not been sent to Rome for a considerable period. The arrears had now swelled to a large amount,[1] and the Reformer, as one of the royal chaplains, supported the refusal in a terse and telling tract, written under the form of a report of a parliamentary debate.[2] There had been also the seventy years' captivity—from 1305 to 1376—from Clement V to Gregory XI, and there ensued, in 1378, the great schism—one Pope at Rome and the other at Avignon, tossing curses at each other;[3] the boast of one living head and vicar disappearing in storm and recrimination. The mitred rivals preached crusades against one another, and prepared to decide by an appeal to arms which was the true representative of the Prince of Peace. In defence of the claims of the Pope at Rome, Spencer the warlike bishop of Norwich,[4] actually sailed with an army across the Channel, and massacred the population of Gravelines, so that "not even an infant remained alive." Four thousand Flemings were also murdered at Dunkirk. Indulgences were promised to all that joined his ranks, and to all who contributed to the expense of the expedition, which miserably failed. Wycliffe took up such a public scandal, saying, "Antichrist puts many thousand lives in danger for

[1] That the Pope derived from England every year a sum five times larger than the royal revenue, may be inferred from the address of the "good parliament" in 1376, the decisions of that parliament having been guided by "Lord Edward the Prince, who gave them his counsel and aid effectually." Longman's History of Edward III, vol. II, p. 249. On the rapacity of the Cardinal of St. Prassede, when he was on a special embassy in England, see Milman, vol. VIII, p. 184. Higden and Fabyan ascribe the rapid spread of Wycliffe's opinions to the schism which the English parliament called "damnable."

[2] The document may be found in Foxe, II, p. 587, London, 1837.

[3] England held by Urban, the Pope at Rome; and, of course, Scotland held by his rival Clement, at Avignon.

[4] Rymer, Fœdera, VII, 41. Spencer, or le Despencer, figures among the illustrious Henrys in Capgrave's volume. He first tasted blood at the time of Wat Tyler's uprising. He had "the zeal of Phinehas," and, having seized three depredators—Sceth, Trunch, and Cubith—he, without any trial, had them executed, *confessos fecit decollari*. Jek Litster, a ringleader, shared the same fate. De Illust. Henricis, p. 171, Rolls ed.

his own wretched life. Why, is he not a fiend stained foul with homicide who, though a priest, fights in such a cause?"

The Pope, in spite of English law, was still disposing of ecclesiastical preferments in England; and Wycliffe was sent in 1375, on a royal commission to meet the papal nuncio at Bruges—the other delegates being the Earl of Salisbury, Sudbury, Bishop of London, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.[1] After long deliberation a compromise, or rather a suspension of hostilities, was agreed to; but the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, to the violation of which penalties increasing in severity had from time to time been annexed, still remained in force.

Now, the freedom of the church, the kingdom, and the individual conscience from all foreign control was a first principle in Wycliffe's patriotism; and he felt that the possession and study of Scripture formed the truest charter and safeguard of national and ecclesiastical independence. Therefore he resolved to put the English Bible into the hands of the English people; and its rapid circulation showed that many good and true spirits were ready to give it cordial welcome.

At the same time the Mendicant Orders which had been established to repress evils, that neither church nor cloister seemed able to cope with, had fallen into gross degeneracy. They had become so numerous and so violent as to draw upon them the reprobation of the working clergy, whom they were supplanting by their easier and cheaper terms of confession and penance; and the University of Oxford had risen in rage against them, for they had striven hard to monopolize the education of young men;[2] and endeavoured to maintain an independent and separate jurisdiction which infringed or superseded the statutes. They had so thwarted and opposed the academic authorities,

[1] The Exchequer accounts show that Wycliffe was absent from the country less than two months—from 27th July to 14th September—that he was paid at the rate of twenty shillings a day; that the total money paid him was £52, 2s. 3d., a considerable sum in present value, and that this included the expenses of the journey.

[2] Of these four Orders the Dominicans or Blackfriars came to England in 1212, the Franciscans or Greyfriars in 1224, the Carmelites or Whitefriars in 1250, and the Augustines in 1252.

that the number of students had dwindled down to 6,000; while according to Wood,[1] there had been 30,000 in the days of Henry III. Parents alarmed at the risk to which their sons were exposed, refused to send them to college. Convocation had been obliged to pass an Act, declaring that no youth should be admitted into the Order of Friars under eighteen years of age. Wycliffe on behalf of his Alma Mater, threw himself into the contest with such skill, learning, and energy as to confound his antagonists. But over and above his own assaults, and the satirical scourgings of Chaucer and Langland,[2] Wycliffe felt that the most effectual exposure of these cunning and covetous itinerants and "pardoners" lay in presenting to the people, in their own tongue, the life and acts of our blessed Lord and His Apostles—the true patterns of all evangelical labour and self-denial.

Again, the ominous and alarming condition of both the state and church must have filled Wycliffe with profound anxiety. At one period of Edward's splendid reign, three foreign sovereigns did him homage. The king of France and the king of Scotland had been carried to London as prisoners, and the king of Cyprus was imploring help. Cressy had been fought in 1346, and the imperial crown had, in 1347, been offered to him. Commerce had flourished, while conquests had been gained. But the glory of the earlier part of his reign had passed into eclipse. His allies forsook him, and there were great military reverses

[1] The statement is made by Armachanus (Richard Fitzralph of Armagh, the Primate) and by Gascon, once Chancellor of Oxford, who referred for its truth to the "rolls of the Old Chancellors." In his exposure of the Friars, Wycliffe had been preceded by Fitzralph, who delivered an "Apology" against them to the Pope at Avignon, 1352, alluded to by Wycliffe in his Trialogus, and he preached also in London on the subject. Died at Avignon in 1360.

[2] Langland's Vision of Piers Plowman (1362) was edited by Skeat for the Early English Text Society, London, 1867. Another poem by a different author, and somewhat later date (1394), Piers Plowman's Crede, flagellates the religious orders with still greater severity. Edited also by Skeat for the Early English Text Society, London, 1867. See also William Langland, a grammatical treatise, by Emil Bernard, Bonn, 1874.

in France. He had been saluted by his people and by "all countries" as king of the sea; but his navy, which had achieved such renown off the Sluys in 1340, and off Winchelsea in 1350, had perished. There were also growing complaints of domestic confusion; the Black Prince, the hope of the nation, had died in 1376; and the king, sinking into premature dotage, had become the victim of a rapacious and shameless concubine. Patriotic men felt sad misgivings, and were alarmed for the stability of the realm amidst the animosity of contending factions, for the Duke of Lancaster was filled with rancorous and all but unaccountable enmity to William of Wykeham. The hierarchy were engaged in statecraft and diplomacy, and the wealth and splendour of churchmen had passed into a proverb. The relation of the peasants to the land had grown wholly unsettled, the industrial classes were being pressed down into pauperism, and new social laws, worse than the statute of "Labourers," were sharply grinding the "faces of the poor," and subjecting not only the peasants, but "artificers and people of mysteries" to annoying restrictions as to work and wages. The downtrodden masses had found an exponent in Langland's "Vision of Piers the Plowman." The poet was very loyal himself, but his verses told the peasant's sense of many wrongs in the peasant's own tongue, gave voice to the thoughts of myriads writhing under misrule, and combined their fragmentary utterances into one prolonged denunciation.[1]

The Black Death or pestilence, which had appeared first at Dorchester in 1348, and swept over the country during the next year and a half, had returned in 1361, 1369, and 1375. The first outbreak of the epidemic had carried off half of the population, two millions and a half out of five millions, the mortality, being greatest among the poor or lower orders, or, as the record of the king and council calls them, "workmen and servants." While land at once fell in value, labour rose in price, and

[1] Langland, a secular priest, of the West of England, belonged to a period somewhat earlier than Wycliffe, but he was filled with the Reformer's honesty and boldness, and the ring of Cædmon's alliterative metres is often felt in his verses.

the numerous efforts of the legislature to neutralize this inevitable result were fruitless, for no power can repeal the divine law which regulates supply and demand. Wages were in this way thrown into disorder, and capital and labour came into collision. In defiance of feudal law, labourers left their lord's soil and took refuge in the towns; many of the serfs detached from the land became paupers, and there was a great increase of "valiant beggars and vagabonds." Serfdom was everywhere, the "villeins regardant" passing to a new owner, like the trees on the estate, and villeins "in gross" being liable to be sold off the property like the cattle reared upon it.[1] Discontent and poverty so naturally created, at once and fiercely traced themselves to misgovernment and class legislation. In 1377, the last year of the reign of Edward III, a poll-tax of fourpence had been exacted from all persons, both males and females, above fourteen years of age; and in 1379 another similar tax had been imposed with a scheme of graduation. But the last grievance of a third poll tax, mercilessly enforced, led, in 1380, to a terrible uprising, headed by Wat Tyler.[2] If "oppression makes a wise man mad," it cannot but infuriate such as have no pretension to the possession of wisdom, or of any acquaintance with political economy. Struggling for freedom, these rebels blundered into communism, and advocated the abolition of social ranks and distinctions, so that those above them should be cast down by force to their own low level.[3] After the revolt had been quenched, the executions or legal murders of the poor fugitives ordered by Chief Justice Tressylian, in various parts of the country, amounted to 1,500.[4] As the causes of the

[1] Act 12 Richard II, c. 4, complains that servants will not work "without outrageous and excessive hire." See Pashley on Pauperism, p. 163; Eden's State of the Poor, vol. I, p. 42.

[2] Archbishop Sudbury, who, as Chancellor, had carried the obnoxious tax through Parliament, and who had scornfully called the insurgents "shoeless ribalds," was seized by them, and barbarously murdered.

[3] A good account of the causes of the revolt will be found in Cartwright's Life of Gustave Bergenroth, Edinburgh, 1870; also in Creasy's History of England, vol. II, chap. iv.

[4] Under Lord Chancellor Arundel, Tressylian himself was, on a charge of treason, hanged at Tyburn in 1388.

insurrection had been deeply seated and long felt, and the movement was so widely spread, it was not easily or at once suppressed. The serpent in its agony had turned round and bitten the heel that was heavily treading on its neck. After the convulsion, Parliament resolved that it would not liberate the villeins, even though the refusal should lead to its own destruction; and it sanctioned the king's revocation of all the promises which he had solemnly made to the victors during their brief hour of supremacy.

But there is no proof that Wycliffe's teaching, or his Bible, was connected with the tumult, though the accusation has been often made against him, as by Harpsfeld (Alanus Copus[1]) and by Lingard.[2] The charge was repeated down to the time of Tyndale.[3] "They said it in Wycliffe's times, and the hypocrites say now likewise, that God's word causeth insurrection." The judges who tried the rebels never blamed Wycliffe; his patron, the Duke of Lancaster, was the object of popular vengeance. His palace was burned, and when the insurgents swore fidelity to the sovereign, they took an oath against accepting any king whose name was John, referring to John of Gaunt who was suspected of aspiring to the crown.[4] Wycliffe's bitter opponents Walsingham and Knighton are silent on the point, though they were anxious to heap all kinds of accusations on his head. Walsingham ascribes the revolt to the Mendicant orders, to the guilt of the prelates in not persecuting the new heresy, to the bad lives and atheistical principles of the lords and their tyranny over the commonalty, and to the general depravity of the people. Nay, he says that a leader of the rebels admitted that the object of their attempt to overthrow the hierarchy was to establish the Mendicant orders in their room; and certainly Jack Straw, one of the foremost

[1] Fuller's Church History, vol. I, p. 454.

[2] History, vol. III, p. 143.

[3] Preface to the Exposition of St. John, p. 225, Parker Society edition; Forshall and Madden, preface to Wycliffe, p. 15.

[4] The birth name of Robert III of Scotland was John, and it had to be changed on his accession. John Baliol, John of England, and John of France were not easily forgotten.

demagogues, made such a confession before his execution.[1] With such a project certainly Wycliffe could have no sympathy. John Ball, the priest orator among the insurgents, is stigmatized by Knighton as "the forerunner of Wycliffe," thus absolving the latter from all participation, direct or indirect, in the revolt.[2] Wycliffe in fact, as being a royal chaplain, "standing on a peculiar footing" with the crown, and from his relationship to John of Gaunt, belonged to the very class against which the malcontents had risen; and any resort to arms in order to redress wrongs, the Reformer steadily discouraged. The "moral Gower," [3] who was both a Kentish squire and a beneficed layman, has, in his poem *Vox Clamantis*,[4] depicted, both simply and in allegory, the character of the ringleaders and of the mob, but he makes no allusion to Wycliffe, and yet he exposes the vices of the clergy with earnest severity. He thus photographs Ball—

> "Ball was the preacher, the prophet, the teacher,
> Inspired by a spirit of hell,
> And every fool was advanced in his school,
> To be taught as the devil thought well."

Froissart, in his minute history of the insurrection, does not associate Wycliffe with it in any way, the chief motive ascribed by him to the armed mob being the plunder of the wealthy, and the destruction of all muniments and

[1] The attainder of Jack Straw, "the priest of the men of Essex," and of Wat Tyler, John Hancach, and Robert Phipp, may be found in 3 Rot. Parl. 175, 1385.,

[2] Veluti Christus Johannem baptistam. Knighton's Hist. Angl. Script., tom. II, p. 2644. Walden describes the Wycliffite heresy as fomenting dissensions everywhere, but does not charge it with being the cause of the uprising, though from its spread the clergy feared for a future insurrection. In a letter to the Duke of Lancaster, the head of the four orders of Mendicants complains of Hereford and others, as not only stirring up the insurrection, but as laying the blame of it on those orders themselves." Walden, p. 292, ed. Shirley.

[3] Gower died in 1408, an old and blind man, in the religious house of St. Mary Overies, Southwark.

[4] Edited by H. O. Coxe, M.A., London, 1850, for the Roxburgh Society.

charters which might prove their vassalage.[1] There had also been several upheavings of a similar kind on the Continent, and these, in the French Chronicler's opinion, encouraged and provoked the outbreak.[2] Fabyan, too, in his "Chronicles of England," makes no mention of Wycliffe in connection with the Kentish explosion. The Commons, in answer to the King's address commanding inquiry into the causes of the recent troubles, boldly say, after a long enumeration of abuses, "To speak the truth, these injuries lately done to the poorer commons, more than ever they suffered before, caused them to rise and commit the mischief done in the late riots." After dwelling on the great hardships inflicted on the commons, such as subsidies, tallages, and the oppressive practices of the royal purveyors, they added that justice had been so badly administered that "right and law had come to nothing." Thus those who had made prolonged official inquiry into the origin of the outbreak assign sufficient causes for it in these memorable words, but they never allege that Wycliffe's Bible, or Tracts, or "preachers," had any hand in it. In fact, Wycliffe's followers were not found among the villeins and serfs, but rather among the tradesmen in towns,[3] and among the middle classes. He said himself that fully a third of the clergy agreed with him in their hearts, and Knighton complains that "of every two persons you met in the street, one was a Lollard." In the document issued the year after the outbreak by the archbishop to Peter Stokes the Carmelite, detailing the errors of Wycliffe, which had been condemned by a synod, there is no allusion to the insurgents or to any connection of Wycliffe with them. Heresies alone are recorded, and these are vaguely said to threaten "to subvert and enervate the peace of the king-

[1] Chronicles, vol. I, p. 641, London, 1812.

[2] Thirteen hundred revolted Swiss peasants had with marvellous skill and valour broken the Austrian power at the memorable battle of Morgarten in 1315, but the terrible banner of the *Bundschuh*, which soon floated over many territories, had not yet been unfurled.

[3] Among the tradesmen mentioned as Wycliffites in a proclamation of 20th May are goldsmiths, plumbers, fleshers, weavers, coopers, hosiers, honeymongers, and fletchers or arrow makers. Rymer, Fœdera, IX, 129.

dom." In fact, Wycliffe's influence was seriously injured by the rebellion, and it interrupted for a time his great work. But he himself was no demagogue, for, like Occam, he maintained that the civil power must ever be supreme. John Ball admitted in his last confession that he had been a disciple of Wycliffe for two years; but he had been imprisoned on several previous occasions for heretical turbulence by the ecclesiastical authorities, and he had been under Archbishop Langham's censure as far back as 1366, a period long before the "poor priests" were heard of. He made frequent use of the imagery and characters of Piers the Plowman; but he does not seem at any time to have quoted Wycliffe or his books—his favourite and suggestive text being the familiar couplet—

"When Adam dalve, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

Wycliffe's theory about God as the Lord Paramount is only a feudal paraphrase of the old saying, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," and his oft quoted sentiment that dominion is founded on grace has no more political heresy in it than our common formula, "Victoria, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain." But his ideal dominion founded on grace yielded to the actual, for he inculcated passive obedience on the part of Christians to the powers that be, even "though they be wicked and ungodly," and this he advocated so extravagantly that his enemies represented him as teaching that "God ought to obey the devil"—*quod Deus obedire debet diabolo.* His disciple Huss held a similar view. He launched vehement invective against ecclesiastics holding lands and offices of state, as against William of Wykeham, whom he characterized as one of "those who were wise in building castles."[1] But while he

[1] There was certainly good ground for complaint, since at one time, about 1367, from the Lord Chancellor down to the Master of the Wardrobe and Inspector of Buildings, all the higher officers in the court of Edward III, to the number of twenty-two, were priests in possession of benefices. It was the characteristic policy of the Duke of Lancaster's party, to which Wycliffe belonged, to have such churchmen superseded by laymen. Little more than a century ago, the Duke of

argued that temporal property should not be protected by spiritual thunder, he was no leveller, and his poor priests were only a provisional measure, though they exhibited somewhat of the compactness and elasticity of an ecclesiastical order.[1]

Though Wycliffe had no personal nor secondary connection with the outbreak, he must have been greatly distressed by the grievous confusion reigning around him. His numerous polemical tractates discussed the important themes and questions of the day, and by a wide and speedy circulation they must have excited no small interest, and though they passed round only in manuscript, they awakened public thought. Their popularity was enhanced by their clear and incisive style; and though they are composed in the rudeness of an unformed language, they still charm modern readers by their quaint rusticity, their vigorous antithesis, and their rugged symmetry of hearty utterance. But while these publications aimed at and pleaded for the extinction of various forms of injustice and outrage, there was still needed the introduction of a remedial power mightier by far than "the words of man's wisdom," in order to restore harmony, and raise up and shield "the poor and him, that hath no helper." And thus the unsettledness of the period with its bitter strifes, the rooted enmity of class against class,[2]

York, second son of George III, was in his infancy made Bishop of Osnaburgh, the first Saxon diocese founded by Charlemagne.

[1] One is almost tempted to imagine that the order of poor priests in some way suggested the strange misrendering in both versions of Matt. xi, 5, "pore men ben taken to prechynge of the gospel"—the note in the first version being "ben madd helpers of the gospel." At the same time there occurs in one of his sermons another mistranslation, "pore men ben preisid of God." Select Works of John Wycliffe, vol. I, p. 71, ed. Arnold, Oxford, 1869. Some light is cast on the subject in Wycliffe's well-known tract, "Why poor priests have no benefices." The "poor priests, clad in russet, with staff in hand, scoured the country, and preached" daily in churches and church-yards, and at markets and fairs, "to great congregations." Another mistranslation is sometimes said to be polemical in aim, 1 Peter iv, 12, "Nyle ye go in pilgrimage in fervour"; but the fault lies with the Latin translation, which Wycliffe gives literally.

[2] A straw may show the force and direction of the current. Seven years, at least, after Lord Mayor Walworth had killed Wat Tyler, the common Council enacted—"Dogs are not to

the hardheartedness of statesmen, and the ambitious factions of churchmen with their worldliness and intrigues, impressed Wycliffe with the indelible conviction that all ranks needed to know and study the Divine Word in the tongue intelligible to them. For it was the inspired record of a religion which, if fully believed and acted out, sets its brightest jewel in the crown, and guards the purity of the ermine—breathes a just and generous spirit into legislation—gives nobility to the meanest, and the best of graces to the highest—presents every one with an aim worthy of his nature—sanctifies every pursuit as a "calling" in which he may "abide with God"—sends a cheering influence through all the relations of life—lifts the fallen and relieves the needy—visits the "fatherless and widows in their affliction"—opens up a widening circle of spiritual brotherhood, and blends earth with heaven. And under this inspiration he became the translator of the "lively oracles," which lost none of their life by being told in the homely words of the nation.

Still further, though Wycliffe was one of the quaternion of great schoolmen, and takes rank with Bradwardine, Occam, and Duns Scotus, yet the conceptions which he had formed of a true theology led him to undertake a translation of Scripture. The scholastic divines had indeed built up an intricate theology with logic and metaphysics, with distinctions of marvellous subtlety and arguments of surpassing ingenuity and ability; but the Word of God was allowed to fall into abeyance, and was not taken as of common consent to be the ultimate standard of appeal.[1] Some polemics rested their opinions solely on ecclesiastical canons, as does Walden, who avows—"The decrees of bishops in the Church are of greater authority and dignity than is the authority of Scripture."[2] Wycliffe also complains that "Scripture has many impugners who extol the power of the Pope above it so much as to warrant the inference that he may take

wander about the city, the dogs of the gentry excepted." Liber Albus, p. 452, ed. Riley.

[1] The *Summa*, or compendium, of Thomas Aquinas, consisting of 1150 folio pages, is called by its author in the first sentence of his prologue, *lac parvulis*, "milk for babes." Opera, vol. i, p. 458, ed. Migne, Paris, 1841.

[2] Walden, Doct. Tri., 1st Lib., c. xxi. Vaughan's Wycliffe, vol. ii, p. 49.

away one of its books and add a new one." So that, as an ardent lover of the truth, he longed that the people should know the highest style of all truth as contained in the Word of God, and that Word no longer hidden in a dead and foreign language. He "rolled the stone from the well's mouth" that all might approach and drink of the living fountain, since the popular systems of divinity, furnishing only an intellectual discipline, and reaching not to the depths of the inner nature, were only as "cisterns, broken cisterns," at which the thirsty soul could not satisfy itself.

Wycliffe had one special qualification of a translator; for he was so pure in heart and life himself, that his worst enemies, such as Netter de Walden, Wodeford, Knighton, and Walsingham, never uttered a whisper against his character. Arundel himself said, on Thorpe's trial, "Wickliffe, your author, was a great clerk; many men held him a perfect liver."[1] His continuons opponent, Kyningham, confessor to the Duke of Lancaster, wrote a series of tracts against Wycliffe — Ingressus, Acta, Determinationes—in which he complains of his personalities and of his books, but he does not assail his life. He was even reported to be "a ruly man, and an innocent in his living." The worst said of him, as by Anthony Wood, was, that he became a reformer from "nothing else" than spite at the Pope's treatment of him in connection with the wardenship of Canterbury Hall; but the assertion cannot be borne out, as the warden was probably another person of the same name. It was also insinuated by Walden, and the insinuation was repeated down to the days of Polydore Vergil, that his zeal against the ruling ecclesiastics arose from his disappointment at not receiving the see of Worcester; but it is easy to suggest and propagate such stories. Knighton admits that he was generally an eminent theologian, and that he was unequalled in the art of scholastic disputation. Though the hostile epithets bestowed upon him are wide and wild, and are sometimes thrown up in ludicrous accumulation, they touch not his personal repute. Walsingham calls him by a poor pun, "Wickedbelief." Walden, at the Cobham trial, named him the "mid-day

[1] Select Works of Bishop Bale, p. 81, Parker Society Ed.

devil";[1] and another, quoted by Fuller, styles him "the first unclean beast that ever passed through Oxenford."[2] Pecock's simple reference is "one clerk; but verily to say, one heretic."

According to the testimony of his contemporaries, he loved the divine law, and walked by its light. To the one volume he ever turned as the book of sole and supreme authority; his instructions and invectives were alike based upon it. To him it was the rule and standard of faith; and he maintained that no conclusion should be accepted that could not be proved out of it —for he held that the authority of the Bible was independent of all other authority. He felt, too, that it was an awful function to translate Scripture so that the true sense might be kept; and he exhorted expositors to dwell as critics on the text, and as grammarians on the letter, with all dependence on the Primary Teacher, lest they should impose a meaning not intended by the Divine Giver of revelation. But he was conscious, at the same time, that his labour was feeble and isolated, so long as those whose welfare he studied were not in possession themselves of the Book. His own use of quotations, and his brief comments on parts of Holy Writ, had been only opening up a single fountain, and he longed that every one should so possess the blessing that, in his earnest acceptance of it, it might "be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."[3] Fully aware was he, in his own words, "that the gospil writun is not to be worschipid," that the possession of vernacular Scripture could not of itself secure spiritual blessing, that there was no saving charm in the familiar sounds and syllables, and that there was ever need of divine grace to make men wise unto salvation. The changes of all kinds

[1] Thomas Netter of Walden, that is Saffron Walden, in Essex, author of the Fasciculus Zizaniorum, and numerous treatises against the Lollards, was one of the most accomplished polemics of his day. Born about 1380, disputed at Oxford against Wycliffism, provincial of the Carmelites in 1414, a member of the Council of Constance, Inquisitor-General for England, and Confessor to Henry V. Died 1430.

[2] Fuller's short note is "O the wit."

[3] The opinions of some contemporaries on the necessity and benefit of translations of Scripture may be found in Forshall and Madden's preface, p. xiv.

which he coveted could only be brought about by profound and popular impression, and that impression could be most easily and speedily deepened and diffused by the circulation of an English Bible. "All secular men," he said, "ought to know the faith; so it is to be taught them, in whatever language is best known to them."—"Christ and his Apostles converted the world by making known the truths of Scripture in a form familiar to them."—"Honest men are bound to declare the doctrine which they hold, not only in Latin, but in the vulgar tongue, that the truth may be more plainly and more fully known."—"Christian men and women, old and young, should study first in the New Testament, should cleave to the study of it; and no simple man of wit, no man of small knowledge, should be afraid to study immeasurably in the sacred text." He wished especially for a full and literal translation; and he accuses the friars of "docking and clipping the Word of God, and tattering it by their rime." "The sacred Scriptures" he held to "be the property of the people, and one which no party should be allowed to wrest from them." Therefore, to move the English mind there must be an English Bible, a gift to the men of his own time, and a rich inheritance to all following centuries; and, such being his conviction, an English Bible was soon provided by him and his devoted assistants.

It may now be admitted that Wycliffe was the first to translate into English the entire Bible. According to the "Compendious Old Treatise,"[1] fragments of vernacular versions had been in circulation, like the Ten Commandments and the Creed, that formed portions of a book "drawn into English under Thoresby, Archbishop of York (1348-56), by a worshipful clerk, named Gattrick, who sent them in small pagines to the common people to learn and know it, and of which many copies yet be in England." It is also told in the same tract, written about 1450, that a man of London, whose name was Wyring, had a Bible in English, of northern speech, which seemed to be

[1] Its purpose is to show that we ought to have the Scriptures in Englysshe. Printed by Hans Luft, at Marburg, 1530; reprinted by Foxe, in his first edition, 1563; by Arber, in 1871; and lithographed in facsimile by Mr. Fry of Bristol.

two hundred years old; the allusion being probably to Ælfric's Pentateuch. Trevisa, to whom reference has been made already, is said to have translated the Scriptures into English. But Cáxton is the only authority, and the assertion is first made in an off-hand way by him in his "Prohemye" to his edition of the Polychronicon—"at the request of Lord Berkeley, Trevisa translated the said book, the Bible, and Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum."[1] Bale simply repeats Caxton, without any additional evidence;[2] and he supposed, apparently, that the epistle prefixed to the Polychronicon, beginning with "ego, Johannes Trevisa, sacerdos," was the dedication of a Bible rendered *in Anglicum idioma.* Finally, Ussher[3] inserts the statement of Bale, and Wharton copied Ussher,[4] ascribing the revised version of Wycliffe to John Trevisa. The tradition survived till 1611, and King James's translators, referring to early versions of the Scriptures, say, in their preface, "much about that time, even in our King Richard dayes, John Trevisa translated them into English." But these statements are not to be accepted, for, while many of Trevisa's translations survive, we have no fragment or specimen of an English Bible. The belief probably arose from the circumstance that Trevisa was vicar of the parish of Berkeley, and chaplain to the fourth Lord Berkeley, and that on the roof and walls of the private chapel in the castle are inscribed verses from the Apocalypse in Latin and Norman-French. This work is commonly ascribed to the chaplain;[5] but the opinion that he translated the Scripture has no palpable basis. Arundel, at the time Archbishop of

[1] Printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494.

[2] Script. Illustr., p. 518, Basil, 1557. Trevisa was a favourite with Bale, as he was toward the monks *rigidus ac mordax.*

[3] Hist. Dogmat., p. 346. Opera vol. xii. Dublin.

[4] Auctar., p. 348. Fuller calls the second or revised Wycliffite translation Trevisa's masterpiece. Church Hist., and vol. I, p. 468.

[5] In proof of this belief, reference has been made to the Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk, printed also by Caxton, in which the former says, as if noting something memorable, "also thou notest where the Apocalips is wryten in the walles and roof of a chappel, both in Latyn and in Frensche." The letters are now nearly obliterated. Lewis Hist., p. 50. Fuller gives the story out of Bale. Church History, vol. i, p. 468.

York, in his funeral sermon, preached at Westminster, 3rd August, 1394, for Anne of Bohemia, the "good queen" of Richard II, extols her for her study of the Gospels in English, "though she was a stranger"; these Gospels being sanctioned by the primate himself, who had examined them, and found them to be "good and true." But he intimates nothing as to their age, origin, or literary characteristics, and they may have been one or other of the two Wycliffite versions, which had been some years in circulation. The Constitutions of Arundel, enacted at Oxford in 1408, prohibited all translations, "such as that lately set forth in Wycliffe's time, or since, if they have not the approval of the bishop of the diocese, or of a provincial council." Whatever the canonist Lyndwood[1] might infer, two Bibles only are mentioned—Wycliffe's own version, in his own time, and the version "since," or after his death, viz., the revision made by Purvey. Sir Thomas More,[2] writing about 1530, affirms that "the whole Bible was, long before Wycliffe's days, by virtuous and well-learned men, translated into the English tongue; and by good and godly people, with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read. . . . . For as for old translations, before Wycliffe's time, they remain lawful and be in some folks' hands. Myself have seen and can show you Bibles, fair and old, which have been known and seen by the bishop of the diocese, and left in layman's hands and woman's, to such as he knew for good and catholic folk, that used it in much soberness and devotion." It is, however, to be borne in mind that these striking statements were made by More in artful depreciation of the versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale; that his language is as vague as it is boastful, for he was "in a strait" since he was trying to show that translation in general

[1] Lyndwood, bishop of St. David's, made a digest of the Constitutions of fourteen Archbishops of Canterbury, from Langton down to Chichele; printed at Paris, 1505, at the expense of William Bretton, a merchant of London.

[2] Dyalogues, p. 138, &c., 1530. No one could have placed great confidence in Trevisa as a translator; he complains of the difficulty of Higden's very easy Latin, and examples of odd mistakes made by him are given in Babington's preface to the Rolls edition.

was not forbidden, with the exception of these two versions, and yet these were the only ones in existence in early English. He gives us no means of testing his accuracy by any references to the style, history, and locality of such Bibles; and no volumes corresponding to his description have come down to us.[1] To one like More, writing more than a hundred years after, the Wycliffite translations might appear to be a venerable relic of an earlier time, preserved and read by devout Christians. Cranmer, in his preface to the Great Bible of 1540, vindicates the reading of the English Bible by alleging the more ancient custom which had been interrupted not "much above a hundred years ago" by the Arundelian Constitutions, and says that the Bible was translated into the "Saxon's tongue, at that time our mother tongue, which few men are now able to read and understand; and that when this older tongue became obsolete, Scripture was again translated into newer language, whereof many copies remain, and be daily found"—the Wycliffite versions being referred to. Foxe affirms that "before John Wycliffe was born the whole body of the Scripture by sundry men was translated into our country tongue." But there is no proof whatever that any "whole" Anglo-Saxon Bible ever existed, and the martyrologist presents neither proof nor sample. Other inexact statements have been made on the subject. Ussher repeats the assertion of Thomas James about a manuscript Bible in the English tongue, which long preceded Wycliffe's translation, and assigns it to 1290; but Wharton corrects the mistake in his Auctarium. In a word, the enemies of Wycliffe's Bible regarded it and branded it as an attempt of unexampled audacity, and its friends, like the Bohemian Huss,[2] extolled it as an unprecedented gift to the English nation. When the Lollards were assailed by ecclesiastics who denounced the version, had there been any earlier example they would have appealed to it

[1] There is the metrical story of Genesis and Exodus, probably of date 1250; but this "song," as its author styled it, could not be called a translation. Edited by Morris, London, 1865.

[2] Wycliffe's writings, carried to Bohemia, produced wide and deep impression. The marriage of Richard II to the sister of the Bohemian sovereign had no small influence in fostering such tendencies.

in self-vindication. The prologue to the second or revised translation, while it refers to older Anglo-Saxon Scriptures, expresses the belief that no translation had been published in the language of its own time, and censures the "falseness and negligence of clerks" for not having provided an English Bible for English men. Wycliffe therefore enjoys the priority, and to him may be applied, in the words of his own version, what is said of the son of Onias—"As the dai sterre in the myddes of a cloude, and as a ful moone schyneth in hise daies, and as the sunne schynynge, so he schynede in the temple of God."

CHAPTER III.

THE greater part of the translation of the New Testament is apparently Wycliffe's personal work, and it may have been finished by 1381. There were in circulation also separate books, one Gospel or two Gospels, the Epistles of Paul in whole or in part, the Apocalypse, the Epistle of James, the Ten Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount. Nicholas de Hereford translated the earlier portion of the Old Testament from Genesis to Baruch iii, 20, and the remainder is ascribed to Wycliffe. The work of Hereford, two manuscripts of which are preserved in the Bodleian Library, stops after the two first words of the verse, Baruch iii, 20,[1] for he was suddenly summoned before a synod of preaching friars in 1382, and at an adjourned meeting held at Canterbury, on the 1st day of July, he was excommunicated. Of these two interesting and valuable manuscripts, the one is a copy, with a note ascribing it to Hereford, and the other is apparently the original work of the translator, the process of translation being visible in the changes made; a portion of a word being sometimes erased before it was fully written. Later hands have corrected it, and several of these revisers may be traced. On appealing to the Pope, Hereford was sent to Rome, and, after trial, was imprisoned; but he contrived to effect his escape, although he does not seem to have returned to England during the life of

[1] The 19th verse ends with "place of hem risen," and the 20th verse begins with "The yunge." . . .

Wycliffe.[1] There are variations, however, in the part usually assigned to him, as from the beginning to the end of 2 Chronicles the active participle usually ends in *ynge*, but afterwards in *ende*. The MSS., however, in the Bodleian Library have been corrected by a contemporary copyist. Between Hereford's part and the other sections of Scripture there are characteristic differences. As a rule, he has no textual glosses, while the continuator admits nine in the very next chapter; but some in the MSS. are the additions of transcribers. Hereford renders so literally as to keep the order of the original, and preserve uniformity of translation; but the continuator absolves himself at once from such strictness. For Hereford's "Mawmet," (Mahomet) he prefers "idol"; and Hereford never employs "damsel" or "wenche," so common in the later books, and in the New Testament. "*Secundum* is uniformly rendered "after," and *vultus* by "cheer"; but these renderings are not followed beyond Baruch. Hereford, by the close copying of his text, introduced several Latinisms, as, "and him seen," *et viso eo*, but such forms occur also in Wycliffe's own portion. He renders *videbatur* "it was seen," *viso somnio* "a seen vision"; and he thus expresses the accusative before the infinitive, "I dreamed us to binden sheaves." But we have also in other parts of the older version such phrases in close keeping to the Latin as "the hand of her taken" (Mark i, 31); "the knee folden" (i, 40); "yet him speaking" (v, 35); "the Saboth made" (vi, 2); "A manqueller sent" (vi, 27); all in literal reproduction of the ablative

[1] Hereford, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was among the party a superior scholar, and though he shrank from martyrdom, he endured great suffering along with Purvey in Saltwood Castle. He not only recanted, but in 1393 sat in judgment on a famous Lollard, Walter Brute. In 1391 he had got from the Crown letters protecting him from trouble on account of his earlier views. He became Chancellor of the Cathedral of Hereford in 1394, and Treasurer in 1397 At length, in advanced years, and perhaps ill at ease in his mind, he entered the Carthusian Monastery of St. Anne, Mother of the Virgin, at Coventry, and there died. Repingdon, another associate of Wycliffe, also submitted, and as a reward of his conformity became, in 1405, Bishop of Lincoln. Being a persecutor of those who held his old opinions, he rose in 1408 to be a Cardinal. Folkstone Williams' Lives of the English Cardinals, vol. II, p. 30, London, 1868.

absolute. We have also such other Latinisms as "to make a soul safe" (Mark iii, 4); "saw noise" (v, 38). Hereford also retains several Anglo-Saxon idioms, omits the "s" as the sign of the possessive case, employs "be" in a future sense, keeps the old feminine termination in -ster, but he has the ending in -inge for the earlier -enne with "to" prefixed. Nay, so very sharp is the contrast between him and his successor, that while the participial termination *ende* is found after 2 Chronicles and up to Baruch iii, 19, "goende doun to hell," it is immediately changed into -ing and -ynge, as in verse 26, "wityinge bataile." Wycliffe's rendering had also been very close, so close as often to be almost a counterpart. Thus, in the first five chapters of John we have such extreme literalness as (i, 5) derknesses; (6) to whom the name was John; (13) bloodis; (14) dwellid in us; (21) what therefore? (26) the myddil man of you stood; (45) whom Moses wroot in the lawe; (46) some good thing be? (ii, 3) wyne failinge; (22) from dead men; (24) beeleved not himself to; (iii, 18) believeth in to him; (29) joyeth in joy; (33) hath markid; (34) forsooth not to mesure; (iv, 8) should buy metis; (11) neither thou hast; (21) womman believe thou to me, for; (23) forwhi and the father seeketh; (26) I am; (45) some little king; (47) bigan to die; (51) came agens him; (52) had him better; (v, 2) little gatis; (5) having eight and thritty years in his sicknesse; (28) all men that ben in buriels; (41) I take not clereness of men.

The translation therefore was soon found to be imperfect, for it wanted self-consistence, and its various parts needed to be brought into harmony of style. A careful revision was accordingly at once commenced, but Wycliffe had died before it was brought to a conclusion, probably about 1388-1390. This edition bears the marks of a very thorough work, which was carried through by Purvey, the curate, and intimate friend of Wycliffe and a leader of the Lollards. According to Knyghton,[1] Purvey boarded with Wycliffe, and thus "drunk more plentifully of his instructions, and to his dying day he followed his master." He was a native of Lathebury, near Olney, Buckinghamshire. After Wycliffe's death, he removed to Bristol, and preached so

[1] De Event. Angliæ Coll., 2660.

zealously as to provoke the resentment of the Bishop of Worcester. He was at length apprehended; but terrified by the fate of Sautre, he openly recanted at Paul's Cross in 1400, and immediately afterwards he was promoted by Archbishop Arundel to the vicarage of Hythe which he resigned in 1403. He was confined a second time by Archbishop Chichele in 1421, was alive in 1427, and perhaps he died in prison. After giving in his prologue [1] an abstract of the books of the Bible, and dwelling on the spiritual benefit to be got from reading it, and defending in a variety of ways the right of the people to have it translated for them, Purvey proceeds to describe his own method of procedure: "For these resons and othere, with comune charite to saue all men in oure rewme, whiche God wole haue sauid, a symple creature hath translatid the bible out of Latyn into English. First, this symple creature hadde myche trauaile, with diuerse felawis and helperis, to gedere manie elde biblis, and othere doctouris, and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe; and thanne to studie of the newe, the texte with the glose, and othere doctouris, as he mighte gete, and speciali Lire on the elde testament, that helpide ful myche in this werk. . . . . First, it is to knowe, that the best translating is out of Latyn, into English, to translate after the sentence, and not oneli after the wordis, so that the sentence be as opin, either openere in English as in Latyn. . . . . In translating into English, many resolucions moun make the sentence open,[2] as an ablatif case absolute may be resoluid in these thre wordis, with couenable verbe, *the while, for, if,* as gramariens seyn; as thus, *the maistir redinge, I stonde,* may be resoluid thus, *while the maistir redith, I stonde.* . . . . Also a participle of a present tens, either preterit, of actif vois, either

[1] The prologue was printed in 1536 with the title "the door of Holy Scripture," and in 1550 as the "Pathway to perfect knowledge," &c.

[2] Nigh three hundred years afterwards, a scholar thus wrote to Lodge, the translator of Seneca, "Ye have not, parrot-like, spoken his own words, and lost yourself in a Latin echo, rendering him precisely verbatim, as if tied to his tongue." Letter in preface to English Translation of the Works of Seneca, second ed., London, 1620.

passif, may be resoluid into a verbe of the same tens, and a coniuncciouⁿ copulatif, as this, *dicens*, that is, *seiynge*, mai be resoluid thus, *and seith*, either *that seith*; and this wole, in manie placis, make the sentence open, where to Englisshe it aftir the worde, wolde be derk and doubtful. Also a relatif mai be resoluid into his antecedent with a coniuncciouⁿ copulatif, as thus, *which renneth, and he renneth.* . . . . Also whanne rightful construccioun is lettid bi relacion, I resolue it openli, thus, where this reesoun, *Dominum forbidabunt adversarij ejus*, should be Englisshid thus bi the lettre, *the Lorde his aduersaries shulen drede*, I Englishe it thus bi resolucioun, *the aduersaries of the Lord shulen drede him.* At the begynnyng, I purposide, with Goddis helpe, to make the sentence as trewe and open as it is in Latyn; and I preie for charite and for comoun profyt of cristene soulis, that if ony wiys man fynde ony defaute of the truthe of translacioun, lette him sette in the trewe sentence and opin holi writ, but loke that he examyne truli his Latyn bible, for no doute, he shal fynde ful manye biblis in Latyn ful false, if he loke manie, nameli newe; and the comune Latyn biblis hau more nede to be correctid, as manie as I haue seen in my lif, than hath the English bible late translated; and where the Ebru, by witnesse of Jerome, of Lire, and other expositouris discordith from our Latyn biblis, I haue set in the margyn, bi maner of a glose, what the Ebru hath, and how it is vnderstondun in the same place; and I dide this most in the Sauter, that of all oure bokis discordith most fro Ebru. But in translating of wordis equiuok, that is, that hath manie significacions vnder oo lettre, mai lightli be pereil. . . . . Therefore a translatour hath greet nede to studie wel the sentence, both before and aftir, and loke that equiuok wordis acorde with the sentence, and he hath nede lyue a clene lif, and be ful deuout in preiers, and haue not his wit ocupied about worldli thingis, that the Holi Spiryt, autour of wisdom, and kunnyng, and truthe, dresse him in his werk, and suffre him not to erre. . . . . God graunte to us alle grace to kunne wel and kepe wel holi write, and suffer ioiefulli sum peyne for it at the last."

Nicholas de Lyra, mentioned in Purvey's prologue, and to

whom Luther also was greatly indebted, was of Jewish blood, and had his surname from the place of his birth. His Postillæ, or brief comments on the Bible, are often quoted in the Wycliffite versions. Lyra is not used by Hereford in the earlier portion of the Old Testament which he translated; but "Lire here" occurs frequently, and "Lyra" is often referred to, both in regard to text and version, the references being more frequent in some books than in others. The *glossa ordinaria* so often cited is the compilation of Walafrid Strabo; and another, the compilation of Anselm, a deacon of the church of Laon, is quoted as the "gloss interlineary." But these notes are very unequally distributed, and a few of the Fathers also are sometimes appealed to.

Purvey's manuscript is preserved in the library of the Dublin University.[1] Forshall and Madden give many illustrations of his critical selection of a Latin text, of idiomatic renderings as opposed to too literal ones, of the resolution of the very frequent ablative absolute, and of the present or preterite participle by the use of a conjunction, of the repetition of a word for the sake of perspicuity, of the changes demanded by difference of idiom, and of the varying meanings assigned to the Latin particles. Purvey has made many changes on the first version. The word "forsooth," representing the Latin "autem," occurs perpetually—forty times in the first chapter of Matthew; but Purvey does not employ it at all.

The second version was, for a long period, not carefully distinguished from the first, though Henry Wharton had correctly noted them, and the New Testament was printed as Wycliffe's own version by Lewis in 1731, by Baber in 1810, and in the first column of Bagster's English Hexapla. The New Testament proper of Wycliffe was published by Lea Wilson in 1848, by Bosworth and Waring in 1865, and at an earlier period the Song of Solomon had been edited by Adam Clarke, in the third volume of his Commentary. At length the entire original version and revision appeared in four magnificent quartos, by Forshall and Madden, Oxford, 1850—the fruit of twenty-two

[1] An account of an unfinished revision of Purvey may be found in Forshall and Madden's edition of Wycliffe, p. xxxi.

years' labour, and an appropriate honour to Wycliffe's University. Thus the Wycliffite translations kept their written form for nigh five hundred years. Froude, indeed, says that, "before the Reformation two versions existed of the Bible in English —one was Wycliffe's, another based on Wycliffe's, but tinted more strongly with the peculiar opinions of the Lollards, followed at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[1] But the second version has no deeper Lollard tint than the first which it revises, removing Anglo-Saxon archaisms with many Latinisms, and giving a more English aspect to the entire translation. The second version must, to a large extent, have superseded the first; and Bishop Pecock, in his "Repressor of the overmuch blaming of the Clergy," a book written about 1449 avowedly against Wycliffe's followers, always uses it in his quotations.[2] There have been preserved at least one hundred and seventy copies, all of them written before 1430, and they were carefully examined and collated by Forshall and Madden.

One characteristic of Wycliffe's epoch was the spread of education, and in his own period several colleges had been founded—Exeter, Oriel, Queen's, and New College, at Oxford; and Gonville, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi at Cambridge. We have referred to the effect produced in course of time by the Norman invasion and other causes, on the older Anglo-Saxon speech. The two races had been at length perfectly united under Edward III, and new mental activity instinctively developed a new outgrowth of expression, filled with life and freshness, and bearing the dew of its youth upon it. One consequence was a double stock of words, Saxon and Norman, so that we possess not a few of that class which are commonly termed synonyms, of which the Anglo-Saxon had almost none.[3] While the older tongue keeps its place in our

[1] History of England, vol. iii, p. 77, fourth edition.

[2] Examples may be seen in the Repressor, vol. I, i, p. 476, &c., ed. Churchill Babington, B.D., London, 1860.

[3] Yet Ælfric, in his grammar, managed to translate into Anglo-Saxon such Latin terms as actio, passio, modus, accidentia, conjugatio, &c., with many other abstract and technical words.

monosyllables, as well as in words denoting objects of sense and relations of domestic and common life, general or abstract terms came from the Latin, and evidently through the Norman when the original spelling is changed. The English kept the predominance, and the Norman fell into a subordinate place. In the conferences that followed the battle of Agincourt, it was ordered by the conqueror that documents should be written in Latin, as his ambassadors did not know French; and writing to the Company of Brewers in London, he assures them that "the English tongue hath in modern days begun to be honorably enlarged and adorned for the better understanding of the people, and that the common idiom is to be exercised in writing." Chaucer, Gower, Mandeville, Trevisa, and Langland were virtually contemporaries. It is very wonderful, and it shows Chaucer's acuteness of philological instinct, that not more than a hundred of his Romance terms have fallen into disuse, though a great many more of his Anglo-Saxon words have perished. He introduced such words as advantage, person, glory, divine, disciples, confound, return, reasonable, renown, vain, victory, &c., and through him and Wycliffe the Midland dialect became standard English. This national language was in Wycliffe's time greatly advanced in growth, having "the blade, the ear, and the corn in the ear," though not in maturity. His English is racy, homely, familiar, and picturesque, the language of his own age, but far simpler and more intelligible than that of Chaucer. Wycliffe translated for the people, not for the aristocracy; for the nation, and not for its more educated nobility. The tongue in currency around him was therefore the fitting vehicle, every-day language for every-day use. His translation is really better in style, more lucid and idiomatic, less tortuous and laboured, than his own original writings, in which he expresses freely, frankly, and vehemently his readiest thoughts when he was writing in his own name in defence of truth, or was inveighing against error, venerable through age or fortified by authority. The quotations in his homilies and tracts agree neither with the first nor the second version. But as a translator he was on his guard in rendering the divine volume into the people's speech, for he was virtually

speaking to the people in the name of the Blessed One.[1] His version has a grandeur unaffected by its quaintness, its familiarity of tone does not in any way derogate from its dignity. Though the stiffness of the Latin text often shines through, the Bible is remarkably free from many of the affectations which abound in contemporary writers. It keeps the old spelling of *him* and *her* for the more modern them and their, and restricts *th* to the third person singular of verbs, and does not employ it in the plural or in the imperative. The participle that had ended in *-ende* is formed by *-ing*, the prefix *y-* is used in connection with the past participle, the plural of verbs terminates in *-en*, *ye* and *you* are not used as singulars, and the possessive *your* has an objective sense, as in the phrase "your fear and your dread," for the fear of you and the dread of you. "Either" is often a disjunctive, "that ben in erthis, either that ben in heauenis." "Will not" is expressed often, as in Chaucer, by nyl, nold, nolden. The verb *is* is used for yes, as if "is" affirmed the fact, as in James v, 12, "forsothe be your is, is, nay, nay." The marks of punctuation make up for the loss of the earlier inflexions, for they are necessary when the cases have only one form; and some of the persons of the verb are undistinguished by terminations. A synthetic sentence is independent; for principal and secondary clauses, wrought out into a long and complicated paragraph, have their meaning and connection determined by the syntax. But the sense, by means of the points or stops, becomes at once apparent to the eye, without minute analysis, and is not suspended till you come to the last word governing many terms before it. In an uninflected sentence, the meaning depends on the order of the words; and that order, as the grammatical terminations fell into disuse, required nice arrangement.

One is surprised to see how, when Wycliffe's work is modernized in spelling, it so closely resembles subsequent translations in the general aspect of the version, in the flow and

[1] It is strange that Foxe, in his long and multifarious history of Wycliffe, gives no account of his great work, the translation of the Bible — a work which sowed the seeds of the greater Reformation.

position of the words, in the distinctive terms and connecting particles, in the rhythm of its clauses and the mould of its sentences. Several of its phrases must have passed early into the language, especially those which from their currency had acquired a kind of proverbial power, such as "strait gate," and "narrow way" (Matt. vii, 14), "beam and mote" (v, 3), and being adopted by Tyndale, they have kept their place "unto this present." Through these translations the rich and beautiful old English was sanctified for all time, and with many minor variations, not a few of them traceable to the Greek original, it reappears in its essential and characteristic features in the independent translation of Tyndale, which again is so largely retained and embedded in the Authorized Version.

Wycliffe is easily read, though not a few of his words are obsolete. His theological nomenclature, part of which he had learned from Bradwardine, has not been changed to any great extent, and many of the terms, explained in the margin of the MSS. as if needing explanation, are now part of the language, while the explanatory terms have themselves disappeared. Such are yvil-fame explained by schenship, libel by litel-boke, unquieted by diseased. In other cases both the original text and the explanation are still in use, as affection, explained by love, benignity by goodwill, detractors by open bakbyters, alive by quick. Some renderings are prompted or moulded by the current phrases or customs of his century. The clause 2 Tim. ii, 4, "no man that wareth entangleth himself," he gives as "no man that holdeth knighthood to God inwlappith him silfe," the feudal form of the idea; 2 Kings xv, 20, "and Menahem exacted the money of Israel," he renders, "and Menahem settled the tallage of silver on Israel," tallage being a common term in those days; 1 Peter ii, 13, "be ye suget . . . other to the king, other to dukis; Matt. xxvii, 27, "token Jhesu in the moot hall," a word that came down from remote times. In the same verse the second version has "knights of the justice," and similarly in Luke ii, 2, "Cyrys justice of Syrie," the official title being familiar in England; Judges xx, 28, "provost of the house stood before it (the ark) in those days."

Presbyter he renders by "priest," its contracted form, seniors by "eldre men," and Levite by "deken" (deacon) in Luke x, 32. Pontius Pilate is Pilate of Pounce, then a common form of surname; and he is called meire (mayor) in the first version and "justice" in the second, Matt. xxvii, 2.

It is really amazing that so little of Wycliffe's language has passed away, though many foreign terms torn from his Latin text and thrust into his version never took root. Some of these are apert; balistis, balistæ; calue, bald; cardue, thistle; castel, town; capret, a wild goat; cenefectorie, tent-making; cocco, coccus, scarlet; cirogrille, choirogrillus, hedgehog; colirie, eyesalve; cofin, cophinus, a basket; cultre, knife; cubicularies, chamberlains; diversory, an inn; exces, in the sense of ecstacy; faculty, in the sense of goods, or means and substance; figarde, pygargus, a roebuck; gemmarye, a jeweller; galban, gum; gemels, twins; jument, jumentum, beast of burden; lacert, a lizard; lare, larus, a sea-gull; maal, a fir; margarite, a pearl; nablis, nablum, musical instruments; plaag, plaga, side; proterve, froward; platan, a plane tree; pursirioun, porphyrio, a cormorant; sambuke, sambuka, a musical instrument; sellis, sella, chairs; symulacre, idol; spelonk or spelunk, a cave; stater, a piece of money; symfonie, a musical instrument; sanguyns, blood-coloured; scrabroun, hornet; stable, inn (Luke x, 34); strucioun, an ostrich; sendel, sindon, a linen cloth; sudarie, napkin; universite, world (James iii, 6); veer, spring; volatil, a bird. Comfort is used by him in its literal Latin sense, "And he comforted him (the idol) with nailes"—"fastenede him" in the second version (Isai. xli, 7); and in both versions, Philip. iv, 13, "I may alle thingis in him that comforteth," that is strengtheneth me. Not a few of his other Latin terms have perished in the struggle for existence as jecturing, compunct, corumpe, collation (conference), offencioun, defencioun, conspiracioun, coniectynge, repugne, recompensacioun, dignacioun, federed (bound by covenant.) Many of his native or Saxon words have also died out. The following verbs have an active sense which has long since passed away from us:—Afear, agast, alarge,

bitake (to deliver up), childen, crooken, drunkne, feren, gilten (to sin), honesten, leechen (to heal), lette, longen, meeken, nakenen, nakyn, nighen, noyen, pungeden, richeth, sacren, softeth, sorowen, stithie (to forge), trumpe. Many other like vocables have not come down to us, as—abie, to endure; agregge, to make heavy; biclippe, to embrace; bihete, to promise; buffere, one that stutters; clepe, to call; culver, a dove, found in Spencer; dome, doom, to judge; echen, to add; eren, to plough (earing in the Authorized Version); rich, to enrich; frote, to rub; gab, to lie; gnaste, to creak; grucchen, to murmur; heelden, to pour; herie, to praise; such a phrase as "Takest thou no kepe?" (Luke x, 40). These words have also long ceased to be used:—Knowleche, to confess; lesid, gleaned; oker, to lend on interest; gnappe, to struggle; schende, to confound; stie, to go up; unknowe; alblasters, crossbowmen; buxum[1], obedient; bruk, a locust; comelying, a stranger; customableness, custom; crasyng, a cleft; ferr-floun, a fugitive; feerly, suddenly; fardel, burden, which occurs in Shakespeare; dwelstere, a female dweller; fraiel, a basket of figs; gelding, a eunuch;[2] gilteris, sinners; galoun of water, pitcher of water; grisful, grisly; genderers, parents; hatesum, hateful; cheer, countenance ("the cheer of the Lord is upon them," Pet. iii, 12); layner, a garter; leche, a physician (Luke viii, 43, "which hadde spendid all her catel in to lechis"); lovesum; leep, a basket; leasing, lying (occurs in the Authorized Version); lewd, unlearned (the old contrast being lerid and lewid, learned and unlearned); manquellere, a murderer; manassis, threatenings; mesel, a leper; menie, household; mynde, a memorial; more, for elder; nappen, to slumber—Ps. cxx, 4,

[1] In a form of abjuration, 1395, the promise is, I will be buxum to "the law of Holy Church."

[2] Evelyn notes in his Diary, 11th July, 1654, that, when at Oxford, Barlow, "the bibliothecarius of the Bodleian Library," showed him among the MSS. an old English Bible, wherein the eunuch mentioned to be baptised by Philip is called the gelding—"and Philip and the gelding went down into the water." The literary curiosity was one or other of the Wycliffite versions, for both have that rendering Tyndale in his first edition had "gelded man," but preferred chamberlain in his second edition. Eunuch came in with the Genevan version.

"he (God) shall not nappe, ne slepen"; nol, head or neck; peis, weight; porail, the common people; ripynge, harvest; shamefast, which was originally in the Authorized Version (1 Tim. ii, 9), and ought to have been kept; schrewid, depraved; scheltrun, an army; sothsaw, a proverb; sumdel, partly; scrippe, wallet; shewers, mirrors; sparlyvers, calves of the leg; therf, unleavened; thirs or thrisse, a fabulous beast; toukere, a fuller; welsum, prosperous; unsad, unstable.

But a great number of similar words still survive in Scotch so nearly allied to the Platt-Deutsch and northern English, though they have ceased to occur in ordinary English. Attercop, a spider; axtre, for axletree; baili (Luke xvi, 1), bailie being still the name of a magistrate in a Scotch borough; big, to build, "auld clay biggin'" (Burns); beel, suppuration; bylyve, forthwith; birle, (in Scotland to contribute money for drink); birr, force, rush; brokskin, badgerskin, brok being the common name for the animal; brunston, brimstone; chopin, denoting a measure, a word in daily use; dicht, to prepare, applied to the winnowing of grain; draf, well known to keepers of cattle and dairies in Scotland; egge, to edge or push on; fell for skin, "between the fell and the flesh"; gowling, howling; grene for gin, the poacher sets a girn; hyne, a labourer—hind, a common name for farm servants in Berwickshire; croket-rigged, hunchback, shoulders and back being called in old Scotch riggin; cod for pod, "to fill his wame with the coddis the hoggis did ete" (Luke xv, 16); keetling, a whelp, the Scotch familiar word for kitten; kouthly, kouthy, very intimate; rue, to repent; segge, sedge; stithie, anvil, pronounced often study; smekede, smoked; sowel, sowens, a kind of gruel made from the finer flour of oats; tollbooth, prison; puddock, frog; edwite, to upbraid (wite in Scotch signifies blame; the original title of Pecock's book is "Repressor of the overwyting of the Clergy"); lout (pronounced loot), to stoop; hooled, having the hull or shell taken off; snapere, to stumble; sour-doug, leaven, applied in some parts of Scotland to buttermilk; sowk, suck—Acts xiii, 1, "Manaen that was the sowkynge feere of Eroud" (Herod); sparplyd, sparpled, scattered; stike, stick, to pierce; tungy, tonguy, talkative; toun, a common name for farm

buildings (Luke xiv, 18, "I have bought a toun"); trows, artificial conduit to serve a mill-wheel; to wauke, to full, so waukmill; wod, mad; yett, gate; yowl, to howl; tak tent, tak heed (Acts xx, 28); wook, week, but now nearly out of use; sled, sledge; slidery, from slide, used for slippery; and speels, meaning chips or splinters. The distinction of genders is well sustained, and both terminations are used, -ster and -ess (issa in mediæval Latin); spouse, spousess; purpuresse, applied to Lydia in Acts xvi; cousyness, a female cousin; discipless; daunstere, or dauncerss; sleestere and sleeresse, a female murderer; syngster and syngeress, devouress, servauntess, lecheresse, synneresse, thralesse, weileresse, a female wailer; chesister, cheseresse, a female chooser; leperesse, a female dancer. The feminine termination -ster was beginning, however, to yield, so that sometimes it represents the masculine also. The first version has webstres in a general sense, (1 Kings, xvii, 7), and spinster yet survives, but songster is feminine in Ben Johnson; songster-ess being a double feminine. We also richess, richessis in the plural; almesse, almessis. Some adjectives of material have not been retained. We still possess, however, golden, brazen, wooden, flaxen, woolen, but Wycliffe has silvern, reeden, treen, stonen, hairen, bricken, hornen, &c.

Wycliffe had great wealth of compound words, though very many have not survived. His prefixes are—above-, after- (which he couples with forty different words), again- (Titus iii. 6, "bi waischyng of agen bigetyng and agen newying of the Hooli Goost"), at-, alto-, before- (which he couples with thirty-two different words), bi-, dis-, en-, even-, ever-, for-, fore-, ful-, in-, mel-, mis-, o-, if-, on-, over-, out-, through-, to-, un-, under-, up-, with-. There was the less difficulty in translating when words could be so easily coined, and compounds were of the genius of the Saxon language. If a distinctive word for things having life could not be found, then soul-havers was at hand; if helm meant a warlike headpiece, then steer-staff might be used for the instrument that guides a ship; erthe-movynge is an earthquake.

And yet a slight change of spelling gives many of Wycliffe's

words a modern aspect — abaished, abashed; aish, ashes; abregge, abridge; abite, habit; axe, ask; brid, bird; brisse, bruise; breste, burst; bigge, buy; bocherie, shambles; boyschel, bushel; bottler, butler; brenne, burn; caitiff, captive; coryour, currier; coz, kiss; drede, dread; falt, fauld, folded; gree, degree; hole, whole; carkeis, carcass; hoxe, hough; ligge, lie; parfyt, perfect; pistil, epistle; raied, arrayed; rede, read; scrowis, scrolls; suget, subject; snybbe, snub, reprove; sorwe, sorrow; spitele, hospital; treede, tread; weilen, to wail; wilden, to weild; wlaten, to loathe; yuel, evil; wrethen, wreath; "tweye minutis," "two mites," the second word being only the contraction of the former (Mark xii, 42). Not many years ago when the experiment of reading Wycliffe's translation aloud was tried in Yorkshire, there was hardly a word or an expression which seemed at all peculiar.[1]

[1] The statement is given in the Christian Annotator, vol. III, p. 58, 1856, and is said to rest on the authority of Dr. Tregelles.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Bible in the "modir tongue" must have been speedily diffused, at first in fragments copied and carried through the country by Wycliffe's poor priests, and many other agents. Without such a circulation the first version could not have made the impression ascribed to it before the Reformer's death, and it could only have been completed shortly before that event. Among these poor priests Swinderby was noted for preaching any where and at any time; his pulpit on one occasion being set between two millstones. Those preachers also, according to Knyghton, or pseudo-Knyghton, maintained stoutly that they were true evangelists, because they possessed "the Gospel" or English Bible. The manuscripts remaining are, of course, only a very small remnant, and most of them seem to have been written within forty years of its publication, or between 1420 and 1450. The handsome appearance of many of them shows that the wealthier classes appreciated them, and that the scribes who bestowed such time and skill on them felt assured of disposing of their labour at a good remuneration. There was a great demand, and a corresponding supply. Among Wycliffe's followers there were not a few knights and "soldiers, with dukes and earls,"—the strenuous supporters and defenders of the new sect, according to Knyghton, and that sect, "like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, filled every place within the compass of the land," and brought over to it "the greater part of the people." "Both men and women," he adds, on turning Wycliffites, "became too eloquent and too much for other people by word of mouth, and they all expressed profound respect for Goddis law" or the English Bible"

Therefore there were copies not only in folio and quarto for the higher classes, but there were copies also of a smaller size; and, indeed, nearly all of those extant are of this last kind, meant not for a place of honour in a library, but for individual daily consultation. But it need not surprise us that so few MSS. have come down to our time. Many must have perished from use, others were destroyed in a season of panic, or injured by the means taken to conceal or preserve them, and not a few were burned, as the most unscrupulous measures were taken to suppress the version.

Many of these written Bibles are of great interest from the persons who had them, and the dates, curious notes, and references found in them. Lewis refers to a copy of the New Testament in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, which has on a spare leaf at the end—"Finished 1382, this copy taken 1397." There is one in the library of Cambridge University, written about 1430, which, along with some personal allusions, has a note amidst rich ornamentation—"The true copy of a prologe which John Wickliffe wrote to this Bible, which he translated into English about two hundred years past; that was in the tyme of Kinge Edwarde the Thyrd, as may justly be gathered of the mention that is had of him in divers ancient cronicles, Anno Domini 1550." Upon the second of two inserted leaves of vellum is printed in large capitals of gold, *Edoverdus Sextus;* this Bible may have belonged to the young king who died in 1553. In the library of Westminster Abbey there is another copy, written about 1450, given by the Duchess of Richmond to Henry, Earl of Arundel, and by him, in September, 1576, to Richard Wiclif. Another MS. in the old library of the British Museum, in two volumes, is very neatly and carefully written, probably before 1420; it has also been diligently gone over by another and nearly contemporary reviser, and is the second text of the edition so well printed by Forshall and Madden. A copy, belonging to Mr. Bannister, of the Inner Temple, has on the first page, in an old hand of the fifteenth century, an inscription showing that probably it belonged to the Duke of Gloucester, Richard the Third. Another is also said to have belonged to Duke Humphrey, another to Henry VI, who gave

it to the Charterhouse, another to Henry VII, and one was also given by her chaplain to Queen Elizabeth as a birth-day present. In the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV, there are entries for binding his Titus Livius, his Froissart, his Josephus, and his Bible.

Wycliffe's work as a translator brought upon him special hostility, for the idea of an English Bible filled the clergy with alarm and indignation. He knew, as he tells us, that the priests declared it to be "heresy to speak of the Holy Scriptures in English," and he adds in his Wicket that "such a charge is a condemnation of the Holy Ghost, who first gave the Scriptures in tongues to the Apostles of Christ, to speak that word in all languages that were ordained of God under heaven." He boldly dared to say of Courtenay, self-named "Chief Inquisitor," that the episcopal prosecution of some of his followers had its origin in this—"because God's law was written in English to lewd men"—"He pursueth a certain priest because he writeth to men in English," the allusion being probably to Hereford. Knyghton, the able and well-known canon of Leicester, thus delivers himself: "This Master John Wycliffe translated it out of the Latin into the Anglican, not the Angelic tongue, and thus laid it more open to the laity and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy—even to those of them that had the best understanding. And in this way the Gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine; that which was before precious both to clergy and laity is rendered as it were the common jest of both. The jewel of the Church is turned into the common sport of the people, and what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines is made for ever common to the laity."

Sudbury and Courtenay, the two highest ecclesiastics, who were from their position obliged to take action against Wycliffe, had not the smallest pretensions to scholarship or to a knowledge of theology. Nor had Arundel,[1] who had been so instru-

[1] To create a vacancy in Canterbury, Pope Boniface IX pitched Arundel into the Scottish see of St. Andrews, a transference which he indignantly repudiated. He has however, a peculiar connection with

mental in dethroning one king and setting up another in his room, any higher qualification; but he could lose his temper, and say to Thorpe, "a poor priest," when under examination, "By God, I shall set upon thy shins a pair of pearls, that thou shalt be glad to change the voice." He had presented to the Pope a list of 267 errors and heresies out of the writings of the Reformer; and he had sunk so low in his ecclesiastical enmities as to present a request that his holiness would order Wycliffe's body to be exhumed, taken out of consecrated ground and buried in a dunghill. The Pope, however, declined to command this posthumous degradation. But the Council of Constance, which burned Huss and Jerome, met in 1415, and condemned both the writings and the bones of Wycliffe to the flames; and in 1428, fourteen years after Arundel's death, the decree was carried out in the primacy of Chichele, and under Bishop Richard Flemmyng of Lincoln, in earlier days himself, like his predecessor in the same see, a keen Wycliffite. His remains were solemnly "ungraved," and, in the oft-quoted words of Fuller, "they took what was left of his bones, and burned them to ashes, and cast them into the Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they

Scotland. His family, named Alan, came over with the Conqueror in 1066. Of the first Alan's two sons, Walter Fitzallan, the second son, wandered north into Scotland, and purchased of the Scottish king the hereditary office of High Steward. One of his descendants, the sixth of the family who had held the office, wedded Marjory, only child of Robert Bruce by his first marriage, and their only child Robert, High Steward and Regent, succeeding his uncle, David II, in 1370, became Robert II, the first of the Steward or Stewart dynasty, the popular form Stuart having its origin in France, and in the infirmity of the French alphabet. In 1405 Henry IV kidnapped the Prince of Scotland, afterwards James I, and Arundel might have recognized in the prisoner so long kept in captivity a "nineteenth" Scotch cousin. Lord Campbell (Lives of the Chancellors, vol X, p. 312, 4th edition) commits a strange blunder when he assigns Archbishop Arundel's chancellorship to the Wars of the Roses; for the first of the thirteen battles was fought in May, 1455, and Arundel died in February, 1414. Arundel, five times Chancellor, could have little leisure to study theology.

into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

The posthumous indignity done to Wycliffe was paralleled in 1538, when, by a writ Quo Warranto, Becket was formally summoned, and, after he had been discanonized, his shrine was profaned and demolished, and its costly ornaments of gold and precious stones were removed. Not only so, but the bones of the Saint, which had attracted myriads of devotees for so many years, were plucked from their resting-place, burned to ashes, and scattered to the four winds of heaven. This deed of spoliation gave a greater shock to Europe than the execution of Fisher and More.

But while Wycliffe, who seems to have expected martyrdom, escaped himself so marvellously from the grasp of his enemies, persecution of uncommon severity fell upon his followers, who had waxed so formidable from their possession of an English Bible. He had said in his lifetime, "The friars pursue priests, for they reprove their sins as God bids, to brenne them and the Gospel of Christ written in English to most learning of our nation."[1] Purvey had also divined coming peril, and in the conclusion of his Prologue had prayed that "God would grant us all grace to have well and keep well Holy Writ, and to suffer joyfully some pain for it at the last." In 1387 he, Hereford, and Ashton were forbidden to preach in his diocese by the Bishop of Worcester. Commissions were issued on the 30th March and 16th April, 1388, to seize the writings of Wycliffe and Hereford, and they were repeated several times in that and the following year. In 1391 a bill was brought into Parliament to forbid the circulation of the English Scriptures; but it was rejected through the influence of the Duke of Lancaster, who answered "right sharply, we will not be the refuse of all other nations; for since they have God's law, which is the law of our belief, in their own language, we will have ours in English whoever say nay. And this he affirmed with a great oath." Knyghton, in an account of Archbishop Courtenay's visita-

[1] Treatise against the Order of Friars, cap. 36.

tion of Leicester in 1392, describes a man called William Smith as compelled to do penance in the market-place, and to deliver up English copies of the Gospels and Epistles which he had written, and the culprit confessed that for eight years he had diligently employed himself in such transcriptions.

Various conjectures have been made with regard to the origin of the term Lollard, so familiarly given to Wycliffe's followers. Some suppose it to have been derived from Walter Lollard, who was burned at Cologne in the fourteenth century. Others derive it from *lollen* or *lullen*, to sing with a low voice.[1] From the title of Netter de Walden's book (Fasciculi Zizaniorum), it would seem that in England it was supposed to come from *lollium*, tares, as opposed to the true wheat; and Knyghton describes Wycliffe as mingling tares with wheat in his sermons. A similar allusion occurs in a Bull of Gregory XI, sent to Oxford, lamenting that by Wycliffe tares were allowed to spring up among the wheat. The doctrines themselves are also called Lollards. Gower, an anti-Lollard, and Chaucer, a sympathizer, also seem to refer to this origin of the term. The name had already been applied to the Beghards of the Netherlands, to the Cellites of Antwerp, and to the brethren of the "Free Spirit." In Piers the Ploughman's Crede, it is said of Wycliffe's opponents that they "overal lollede him," accused him of lolling—a loller meaning a sluggard; and in the Complaint of the Ploughman the term loller is given to the friars.

Arguments against Lollardism and the turning of the Bible into the mother tongue were quite legitimate as a free expression of opinion, and works and fragments of works against translation are still in existence. John of Bromyard (a small town in Herefordshire), a theologian of Cambridge, and a Doctor of Laws, was noted about 1390 as a resolute opponent of Wycliffe and his views. Capgrave, Knyghton, Wodeford, Walden, and Walsingham, all of them able and learned divines, threw themselves into the great controversy with characteristic keenness and power. Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, in his "Repressor" (1449), presents a very able and strange combina-

[1] Du Cange, *sub voce.*

tion of what now would be called rationalism and ultramontanism. Those whom he defended so gallantly against the Bible men, met in Council, Archbishop Bourchier and Bishop Waynflete being present, and not only spurned him as a heretic, but condemned him to degradation and confinement; and to the end of his life he was a prisoner in the Abbey of Thorny in Cambridgeshire, ink and paper being denied him. His rationalism was provoked, and so far justified, by the application of Scripture on the part of the Lollards to uses which it was neither fitted nor intended to serve; and he analyzes and condemns the three "Trowings" of the "pulpit bawlers" on these points. His ultramontane leanings are modified, however, by his repudiation of "fire, sword, and hangment" as means of conversion, and by the avowal of his intense desire, that "Scripture were lerned of the comon people in their modir language."

If some of the Lollards cherished extreme political views, or propounded socialist notions, it is strange that in the legislative measures taken against them, they are stigmatized, not as traitors and anarchists, but as religious heretics. The Act de Heretico Comburendo (2 Henry IV, cap. 15), passed in 1401, speaks of "divers false and perverse people of a new sect; they make unlawful conventicles, they hold and exercise schools, and make and write books." The books must have included the English Bible, from which the innovators drew their courage and strength; but it seems to be classed with other productions, as if it had been profane to call an English version by the same appellation as would be conferred on the Latin Vulgate. The allusion in the statute to civil riots and discontent is only secondary and subordinate. By this Act, the lives of the subjects were put under the control of the bishops, who got power to fine and imprison all heretics, and all possessors of heretical books, while obstinate and lapsed heretics were handed over to the sheriff, to be burned at once, "in a high place before the people, that they might take salutary warning." The Act bears the title—"The Orthodoxy of the Faith of the Church of England asserted, and provision made against oppugners of the same, with the punishment of

hereticks."[1] The church was now dominant, and the civil power was bound to execute without hesitation or loss of time the bishop's sentence. Offenders were at once thrust beyond the protection of the common law, and the prelates were forced to have prisons of their own. A similar law had been made in Germany in 1244 by Frederick II; but Louis would not permit its enactment in France. The common belief asserted by Foxe, Burnet, and Collier, that the Act de Heretico Comburendo was an entire novelty in the law of England, does not seem to rest on good foundation. The Act itself presupposes the existence of its penalty, and only ordains that it be inflicted *uberius et celerius*, "more fully and more swiftly." The earlier civil law of England, it would seem, had sometimes taken cognizance of heresy as a crime. Bale notes, from a London Chronicle, that an Albigensian was burned in London in 1210.[2] Bracton[3] tells of a deacon burned at Oxford in 1223, for having gone over to Judaism from love of a Jewess, and getting himself "circumcided." And in his laws of England, a treatise written about the end of the reign of Henry III, he mentions burning as the punishment of heresy. It is stated in the Chronicle of Meaux,[4] that in 1303 fifty men and eight women were burned in England. In Piers the Ploughman's Crede, the friars are accused of executing heretics, "First to brenne the bodye in a bale of fire." But such an old law had long been obsolete, and no death warrant would have been issued on a mere ecclesiastical sentence.

Though such penalties may have been inflicted on heretics at an early time, the punishment was only occasional, and the civil law intervened; but, now, a simple decree of a bishop sufficed to send a man to the stake, and the accusation of heresy became sufficiently elastic to bring within it a considerable variety of offenders.[5] "The Commons petitioned for a mitigation of the terms of the Act, but the royal reply was,

[1] Coram populo in eminenti loco. The Act did not remain a dead letter.

[2] Cent. lxiii, c. 65.

[3] De Legibus Angliæ, folio, 124.

[4] Bond's edition, vol. ii, p. 323.

[5] Coke, Institutes, pt. iii. Coke maintains "that the man who has the soul's leprosy, being convicted of heresy, should be cut off."

that the law should be made more severe.[1] This statute was apparently passed by Parliament at the instigation of the clergy, led by Archbishop Arundel, who had a special claim on the Sovereign, for he had been, as much from motives of a personal as of a patriotic nature, a chief adviser and actor in deposing the weak and capricious Richard II, and securing the throne to Henry IV. He was, besides, a near relation by blood of the king, his mother being the daughter of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster. Feeling his infirmity of title, and his obligation to his cousin the primate and to the church, the king, in the first year of his reign, announced to the clergy his determination to support them against any threatened aggression, and to co-operate with them in the extirpation of heresy. In the second year of his reign, Sautre, priest of St. Osyth, London,[2] was sent to the stake, and Bradbee, an uneducated tailor, but "really a great man," as Dean Hook calls him, was roasted in a barrel, a portion of the process being endured in the presence of the Prince of Wales, soon to be Henry V. Occleve, an orthodox and frigid poet[3] (born about 1370), sings of this terrible martyrdom, but with no sympathy for the poor sufferer. Another minor bard, Lydgate, ordained priest in 1397, and patronized by Henry V, though he lived in the midst of the Lollard agitation, does not seem to have committed himself in any way. Thirty of the more prominent Lollards were put to death at various times, and without mercy Then followed, on Christmas, 1417, the terrible execution of Oldcastle, Lord Cobham,[4] "a person," in the language of Lord Brougham,

[1] See remarks of Lord Brougham on this statute in his "England and France under the House of Lancaster." London, 1861.

[2] The church, situated on the north side of St. Pancras Lane, was burned at the great fire, and the parish was united to that of St. Stephen Walbrook.

[3] De Regimine Principum, Introduction.

[4] Cobham had, in 1410, introduced a Bill to confiscate the revenues of the church, which, after some calculations, goes on to say that, over and above the said sum of 322,000 marks, the result of appropriation, several houses of religion possessed as many temporalities as might suffice 15,000 priests, every priest to be allowed for his stipend seven marks a year. Hook's Archbishops, vol. IV, p. 489.

"of extraordinary virtue and high rank, a knight greatly distinguished in the wars, a gentleman of unsullied reputation for honour, the head of an ancient house, and by right of marriage a peer of the realm."[1] His enthusiasm may have led himself or incited his followers to some political indiscretions. His was a death of savage cruelty, for he was hung in chains as a traitor, in order to be burned at the same time as a heretic. Horace Walpole says of him that, "his virtue made him a reformer, and his valour made him a martyr." There were other executions under this disgraceful Act, of which little record has come down to us; for we find Henry V restoring forfeited property to the widows of four persons, who had been martyred before his accession.

The clergy were devotedly loyal to their protector. When, after the accession of Henry IV, an insurrection in favour of Richard had been put down at Cirencester, and the head of one of its promoters, the Earl of Salisbury, a noted Lollard, was carried into London in triumph, the procession was met by eighteen bishops, and thirty-two mitred abbots in full robes, and chanting *Te Deum*. By a statute of the fifth year of Richard II (5 Rich. II, cap. 5), confirmed by another of the second of Henry V (2 Henry V, cap. 7), it was ordained to be part of the oath administered to a sheriff on his acceptance of office, that he should "seek and suppress the errors and heresies commonly called Lolleries." This portion of the oath continued in use till Sir Edward Coke objected to it, when he was, in 1626, by a court intrigue to keep him out of Parliament, appointed Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, — his defence being that it was an oath to suppress the Established Church, as Lollard was only another name for Protestant.

Yet what Parliament might not venture to do, was done in its own way by a Convocation which met at Oxford, in July, 1408, and Arundel was its moving spirit. But the opposition

[1] Shakespeare had used his name in Henry IV, First Part, "my old lad of the Castle," but afterwards, in the epilogue to the Second Part, he made apology—"Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man. A line of limping metre in the last passage of Act ii, Sc. 3, is the result of the change of name from Oldcastle to Falstaff.

was so strong, that the Constitutions were not promulgated till after another Convocation, held at St. Paul's, in January of the following year. The new English Bible was directly struck at in the seventh Constitution, to which passage reference has already been made: "We therefore decree and ordain that no man shall, hereafter, by his own authority, translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wyckliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council provincial."[1] Some authors have tried to apologize, on political grounds, for this audacious suppression of an English Bible by the English clergy; but the "Constitution" itself, resting solely on ecclesiastical bases, assigns no reason of the kind.[2] Sir Thomas More, at a later period, records that Caxton did not print Wycliffe's translation because Arundel's statute would bring him under penalty for issuing an English Bible.[3]

In 1404 and 1407, the Commons, who certainly were not all Lollards, addressed the king on the enormous wealth of the church; for half the land of England belonged to it and to the religious houses: but he at once forbade them to discuss such matters. In the second parliament of Henry V, in 1414, the legislature joined in asking for harder measures against the Lollards, perhaps on account of political opinions. After a suspected rising of the Lollards, a law was passed, declaring that all who read the Scriptures in the mother tongue should "forfeit land, catel, lif, and goods, from theyr heyres for ever." But there was also in this parliament a revival of the desire to secure for the revenue of the state some portion of the exorbitant property

[1] Wilkin's Concilia, vol. III, p. 317. There had been an earlier canon passed at the Council of Thoulouse, in 1229, forbidding the possession of the Scriptures to the laity, and strictly forbidding translations.

[2] The Bishop of Worcester, in 1387, told his clergy that the Lollards were followers of Mahomet. Wilkin's Concilia, vol. III, p. 202.

[3] Cronica de Event. Angliæ, tom II, London, 1652, p. 2644.

of the church. This desire was apparently cherished by many loyal and patriotic churchmen; and, according to a common report which Shakespeare has immortalized, Archbishop Chichele stirred up the king to undertake at once the threatened invasion of France, and in this way to draw the attention of the people away from schemes of ecclesiastical reform. The poet makes Chichele say to the Bishop of Ely:—

> "That self same bill is urged
> That, in the eleventh year of the last king's reign,
> Was like, and had, indeed, against us passed,
> But that the scrambling and unquiet time
> Did push it out of further question. . . .
> . . . . If it pass against us,
> We lose the better half of our possessions."

The statement as given by Halle, Holinshed, Fabyan, and others, that the clergy suggested the war, and argued the king into compliance, may perhaps be regarded as an exaggeration; but they fanned the flame, if they did not kindle it. This war, which was in unison with the late king's policy, was utterly unjust; for the claim of Edward III devolved on the Earl of March, his lineal heir, and not on the usurping house of Lancaster. Every one knows that the campaign created the greatest enthusiasm, for the wonderful battle of Agincourt threw unsurpassed glory round the English hero—a glory that sometimes dazzles those who have little sympathy with the claims or conquests of Henry V.

The English Bible, circulated, expounded, quoted, and applied, filled the ecclesiastics with terror. To have it, or to be accused of having it, put a man, by law, into extreme jeopardy. But the word of the Lord was not thrown away or lost. Those who felt it to be their enlightenment and comfort cherished it with intense veneration. The danger which they incurred in keeping it only enhanced its value, for there was a possible martyrdom behind it; and there might have been embossed on its boards the effigy of a stake and a chain, a fire and a victim. The great majority of the Wycliffite Scriptures still preserved were written after the ban of Arundel and his Convocation had

been issued. Those who read the forbidden volume must have felt the proverb verified in its richest and truest sense, "Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." Many did suffer for owning a Bible in their spoken tongue. Foxe[1] gives numerous instances of persecution in various dioceses. Some persons were imprisoned, and others were burned. In 1519, six men and a woman perished at the stake at Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in English. The point of the charge against the "examinates," or accused persons, was uniformly not the possession of a Bible, but of an English Bible, or "book of the New Law in English." An unintelligible Latin volume of Scripture was felt to be harmless in the hands of the people, though, indeed, William Butler,[2] a Franciscan adversary of Wycliffe, hesitates not to say, "The prelates ought not to allow that any person should read the Scripture translated into Latin at pleasure."[3] There was a great desire that children should not be taught the Lord's Prayer or the Beatitudes in English. Some of the people had not the whole New Testament, but only the Gospels or a few of the Epistles. The forbidden book was often read by night, and those who had not been themselves educated listened with eagerness to the reading of others; but to read it, and to hear it read, were alike forbidden. Copies of the New Testament were also borrowed from hand to hand through a wide circle, and poor people gathered their pennies and formed copartneries for the purchase of the sacred volume. Those who could afford it gave five marks for the coveted manuscript (about £40 sterling), and others in their penury gave

[1] In vols. IV and V. Seeley, London.

[2] Vaughan's Wycliffe, vol. II, p. 50. Latin Bibles were so scarce that Fitzralph, primate of Armagh, complained to Pope Innocent that four of his chaplains, on going to Oxford, could not find a Bible.

[3] More than a century afterwards, Erasmus, in 1516, the year in which his first edition of Greek New Testament was published, says, "I fear two things—I fear that the study of Hebrew will promote Judaism, and that the study of philology will revive paganism." There was some ground for the fears of Erasmus, for it was said of some of the Italian scholars, who had become classic pagans, that they had a chaunt, "Come, let us sing a new song unto Pope Sixtus."

gladly for a few leaves of St. Peter and St. Paul a load of hay. Nicholas Bulward, of the diocese of Norwich, was charged "that he hath a New Testament which he bought in London for four marks and fourty pence." John Colins and his wife were brought up for buying a Bible of Stacey for twenty shillings. In 1429 the price of a Bible was £2, 16s. 8d.—a great price, and probably more than twelve times that sum in our current money; but fragments in separate books would be proportionately cheaper. Some committed portions to memory, that they might recite them to relatives and friends. Thus Alice Colins was commonly sent for to the meetings, "to recite unto them the Ten Commandments and the Epistles of Peter and James." "Understandest thou what thou readest?" was a challenge wholly fruitless to many; but they enjoyed the benediction, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy." In 1429 Marjery Backster was indicted because she asked her maid Joan to "come and hear her husband read the law of Christ out of a book he was wont to read by night." Richard Hun, committed to the Lollard's Tower in 1514, was found dead in his cell, there being strong suspicions that he had been murdered. His indictment before his death bore that he "had in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, and Epistles and Gospels in English." One of the "new articles" brought against him after his death was "that he defendeth the translation of the Bible and of the Holy Scripture into English." Between 1518 and 1521, such cases are recorded as Richard Collins, accused of having a book of Luke and of Paul; William Pope, of having a book of Paul and a book of small Epistles; Stacey, brickmaker, Coleman Street, of having a book of the Apocalypse; Thomas Colins, of having a book of Paul and of James in English; and John Ledishall, of Hungerford, reading the Bible at Burford upon Holyrood day; and John Heron of having "a book of the exposition of the Gospels fairly written in English."

The means employed to discover the readers and possessors of Scripture were truly execrable in character. Friends and

relations were put on oath, and bound to say what they knew of their own kindred. The privacy of the household was violated through this espionage; and husband and wife, parent and child, were sworn against one another. The ties of blood were wronged, and the confidence of friendship was turned into a snare in this secret service. Universal suspicion must have been created; no one could tell who his accuser might be, for the friend to whom he had read of Christ's betrayal might soon be tempted to act the part of Judas towards himself, and for some paltry consideration sell his life to the ecclesiastical powers. There are numerous examples. Robert Colins "detected" or informed against Richard Colins of Girge, for that Richard did read unto him the Ten Commandments, and taught him the Epistle of James; John Hakker detected Thomas Vincent for giving him the Gospel of St. Matthew in English; John Steventon detected Alice Colins for teaching the Ten Commandments and the first chapter of St. John in English; Thomas Colins informed against his "own natural father," because his father had taught him the Ten Commandments; Robert Pope informed against his wife, his son, and his father, the paternal crime being that his parent had listened to the reading of the Gospel of Matthew. Many from experience must have become so cunning as to escape detection, and others may have secured immunity by an organized system of vigilant sentinels, and private tokens and watchwords. On being seized many abjured. In 1519 Roger Parker of Hitchenden said to John Phip, that "for burning his books he was foul to blame, for they were worth a hundred marks. To whom John answered, that he had rather burn his books than that his books should burn him." On one occasion, at Amersham, in 1506, the daughter of the martyr William Tylsworth was "compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father." Foxe intimates that when he wrote the story, there were persons alive who had witnessed such a refinement of cruelty. When John Scrivener was burned, his children were forced to light the fire that consumed him.

The attachment of the Wycliffites to Scripture was notorious

all through the previous century, and from their first existence. An old satirical song complains of Lord Cobham—

> "Hit is unkyndly for a knight,
> That should a kinges castel kepe,
> To babble the Bibel day and night."

Their earlier purity of conversation is brought out by Chaucer in his Canterbury Tales. The host adjures the parson, "for Goddes bones," to tell a story in his turn; but the parson's surprise at the sinful oath at once marked him out as a Lollard—"I smell a Loller in the wind." To prevent him from talking Gospel, the shipman struck in, "He shall no Gospel glossen here, nor preach, or he might springen cockle in our cleanë corn," an allusion to lolia (tares). The parson's tale, however, is in character, being a long sermon filled with quotations from Scripture, the Latin clauses being rendered by the poet himself.

The knowledge of divine truth, received by the reading of the Scriptures, was transmitted by a succession of pious men for more than a century after Wycliffe's death. There was a revival of spiritual life, and the dim mists of the morning were passing away at the rising of the sun. Readers of the manuscript Bible were numerous in London, where they had several places of meeting; and they abounded also in the counties of Lincoln, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Buckingham, and Hereford. The Gospels, especially that of Matthew, the Beatitudes, the Apocalypse, and very frequently the Epistle of James, are mentioned in the informations and indictments. In 1528, John Tyball, of Steeple Bumstead, confessed to having part of Paul's Epistles after the old translation. John Pykas, in 1529, acknowledged that he had a manuscript of the Bible, and that he had been studying it since 1512. About 1520 and 1521, more than five hundred men and women were arrested in the one diocese of Lincoln, under Bishop Longland; and there was persecution from 1509 to 1517 under Fitzjames, Bishop of London. Ammonius, the Latin secretary of Henry VIII, writes in grim humour to Erasmus, in 1511, that so many heretics had been burned under Bishop Fitzjames that in and around

London fuel had become scarce and dear.[1] In 1529, John Tewksbury, citizen and leather merchant, on examination before Bishop Tunstall, deponed that he had been studying the Scripture for seventeen years, and had a copy of the "Bible written." These Bible readers called themselves "brothers" or "sisters" in Christ, and at an early period they took the name of "just-fast men," "known men," and "known women." The title was based, according to Reginald Pecock, on Wycliffe's unhappy misrendering of the last clause of 1 Corinthians xiv, 38, "If eny man unknowith he schal be unknown," Pecock's explanation being that they understood the clause to mean that if a man did not know the New Testament, he should be unrecognized of God "for to be eny of hise." In talking of a third party, one would ask, "Is he a known man?"—that is, Is he one of the party characterized by their reading of the written New Testament? But such stealth and secrecy were forced upon them—"the Word of the Lord was precious in those days, there was no open vision,"—and the time was yet distant when the circulation and reading of Scripture should be without bar or proscription, when there should be an Authorized Version. In consequence of the spirit of earnest inquiry which was shed abroad, the tyranny of the spiritualty was seen to be more glaringly in antagonism with inspired teaching.

In fine, there is no doubt that "this dear old English Bible" kept alive the knowledge of divine truth for many years. The influence of Wycliffe had not ceased when that of Tyndale began, for in 1529, and in the fierce proclamation of that year against heretical books—Tyndale's Testament occupying the first place on the list—all civil officers are enjoined at the same time to "destroy all heresies and errors commonly called Lollardies." Wycliffe's followers were therefore still of such note and influence as to obtain a place in this royal document. Even so far on as 1538, Lambert the martyr, in reply to one of the articles preferred against him, admitted, "I did once see a book of the New Testament, which was not written in my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the Church in Latin."

[1] Epist., cxxvii.

Vernacular translations of Scripture were usually found in connection with the reformed doctrines, and Scotland was no exception. In 1408, John Resby, a follower of Wycliffe, who had strayed down to the North, was arrested and tried under the Regency of Albany, and, being convicted of forty heresies, was burned at Perth. The Abbot of Inchcolm, as continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, tells the story, and he laments that the books of Wycliffe are possessed by several Lollards in Scotland, and kept with profound and "devlish" secrecy. The same chronicler relates that, in 1431, Paul Craws or Crawar, a Bohemian Wycliffite, was convicted and burned at St. Andrews. Such had been the increase of Lollardy, and such the dread of it, that the Scottish Parliament, meeting at Perth, in the reign of James I, passed on the 12th of March, 1424-5, an "Act of Heretickis and Lollardis." "Item, Anentis Heretickis and Lollardis, that ilk Bischop sall ger inquyr be the Inquisicione of Heresy, quhar ony sik beis fundyne, ande that thai be punyst as Laive of Haly Kirk requiris; Ande, gif it misteris (if there be need) that secular power be callyt tharto in suppowale and helping of Haly Kirk."[1] An inquisitor had also been appointed, the first who held the office being Laurence of Lindores, Abbot of Scone, in 1411, and the first Professor of Law in the newly established University of St. Andrews. It was enacted by this University in 1416 that all who commenced Master of Arts should solemnly swear to resist the Lollards. At an earlier period, in 1390, a Scottish book was written against the disciples of Wycliffe. In 1494, Robert Blackadder, Bishop of Glasgow, and first Archbishop, "delated" some thirty individuals of good family—squires with considerable property—principally from Kyle, the central district of Ayrshire; and Lollards of Kyle became their common designation. Being convicted by the ecclesiastical courts of thirty-four heresies, they were sent up to the civil authorities, but they declined to interfere. One of the culprits, Campbell of Cessnock, had a priest at home "who read the Bible to them in their vernacular." Campbell, feeling himself in danger, appealed to the king, and his wife made an eloquent defence.

[1] Acta Parl. Scotiæ, vol. II, p. 7.

James IV at once acquitted the whole party, and, as Knox adds, "the greatest part of the accusation was turned to lawchter."

There is little doubt that Wycliffe's version was in quiet circulation in several parts of the northern country. Its language was quite intelligible in those days to Scottish readers, for it was virtually their own. Those who could read Fordun's Scoti-Chronicon, Archdeacon Barbour's Bruce, or Blind Harry's Wallace; or the Oryginal Cronykil of Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf, or the King's Quhair of James Prince of Scotland, could easily read Wycliffe. Barbour calls his own language "English"; and one of his contemporaries thanks Chaucer for improving "our tongue." Barbour has *-and* often for the termination of the participle, though he uses also *-ing*. He is in some things more modern than Chaucer, for he has they, their, them, while the English poet keeps the older forms of the pronouns. These works were written in a dialect that reached from the Trent and Humber through Lothian and the East of Scotland to the Moray Firth, and it is the language of the Cursor Mundi, of Hampole and of his "Pricke of Conscience."

In a volume of English Metrical Homilies of the fourteenth century, edited by Mr. Small from manuscript (Edin., 1862), the style is a quarter of a century earlier than Wycliffe, and there are several allusions to the right of the people to have and read the Bible in English—

> "For al men can noht, I wis,
> Understand Latin and Frankis."

The language of these Homilies is the Dano-Saxon of the North of England, the same as the earlier literary language of Scotland. The translation of Virgil by Gawaine Douglas,[1] Bishop of Dunkeld, is called by L'Isle, the Anglo-Saxon grammarian, "Virgil Scottished"; but the poet Dunbar describes the noble translator soon after his death as being "in our *English* rhetoric the rose."

An account of the examination of William Thorpe, "the poor

[1] The poet was the third son of old grim "Bell the Cat," fourth Earl of Angus, who used to thank his patron saint that no son of his but Gawaine could write a line.

priest," before Archbishop Arundel, at the Castle of Saltwood, in 1407, was written by himself, and afterwards published with an advertisement to the reader by Tyndale, who intimates that he had modernized the older style "for our southern men," adding, however, "I intend hereafter, with the help of God, to put it forth in his old English (the English of Wycliffe's period) which shall well serve, I doubt not, both for the northern and the faithful brethren in Scotland.[1]" Don Petro de Puebla, Spanish ambassador at Holyrood, in the reign of James IV, says, in a dispatch, his (the king's) "Scottish language differs from English as Arragonese from Castilian."

[1] Two Scottish bards of the period quarrelled, and one of them, a younger son of Lord Kennedy, in his "Flyting" with the poet Dunbar, calls him "Lamp Lollardorum," and also "Judas, Jow, Juglour, Lollard Lawreat." Dunbar's Poems, vol. II, p. 85, &c.

The lines quoted near the top of p. 94 are from Wright's "Political Songs, from Edward II to Henry VI," p. 244. The Lives and Acts of Tyler, Ball, and Oldcastle are illustrated with some fulness in Maurice's "English Popular Leaders of the Middle Ages," vol. II, London, 1875.

TYNDALE

The altitude of some tall crag
That is the eagle's birthplace, or some peak
Familiar with forgotten years, that shows
Gnarled, as with the silence of the thought,
Upon its bleak and visionary sides,
The history of many a winter storm,
Or obscure record of the path of fire.
There the sun himself,
At the calm close of summer's longest day,
Rests his substantial orb ; between these heights,
And on the top of either pinnacle,
More keenly than elsewhere in night's blue vault,
Sparkle the stars, as of their station proud.

CHAPTER V.

THE only Bible of the English people had been for a century and upwards the written translation of Wycliffe and Purvey. The Lollards, as a distinct party in the realm, had fallen from a conspicuous position, but "the word of the Lord endureth for ever," and in many homes their Book must have been a light, and in many hearts the hidden spring of comfort and power. The Wycliffe Bible was, however, only a version from a version, yet, as Latin was the language of the church, a translation from the Vulgate was made from a recognized source, and the correctness of any rendering could, therefore, be easily ascertained. And why should not a plain rustic or a tradesman have his English Bible, and be put into the same position as a gentleman of education who can read and understand the Latin one? Any attempt to translate from a Greek original at that period, had it been practicable, might have led to confusion and misunderstanding; for ignorance would have branded such a book as heretical and misleading, if it was found to differ in any way from the ecclesiastical text. The common people could not have appreciated these variations, and such prejudices would have been created against the new version as the priesthood could easily foster and spread. Yet the translation of the Latin Scriptures had been a first step to something higher, an intermediate gift to the nation. The effect had been like the first touch of the Blessed Hand upon its vision—"it saw men as trees walking;" and when at length the second touch passed over it, it looked up, and then it "saw every man clearly."

As early as the seventh century some knowledge of Greek

must have been diffused in the island, through the influence of Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus,[1] who brought with him some Greek manuscripts; and such scholarship might be feebly preserved for a period in a few monastic establishments. Petrarch had received a slight initiation into Greek from Barlaam, but he could not read Homer without a Latin gloss, and Boccaccio supplied him with such a guide in 1361. Both Alcuin and Bede understood Greek; and it was taught from about the year 1395 by Emmanuel Chrysoloras, in Venice, Milan, Florence, and Genoa. Alexander V, chosen Pope in 1409, and a Greek by birth, patronized the revived study of his mother tongue. A few scholars had some acquaintance with it, such as Roger Bacon, John of Basingstoke, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Grosseteste, one of the most illustrious men of his age, who influenced English thought and literature in a remarkable degree, and advocated translations of Scripture, though he set his seal to two worthless spurious productions, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. Another eminent scholar, Richard Aungervylle or De Bury tutor to Edward III, then Bishop of Durham and for a few months Chancellor of England, has left us his Philobiblon, a species of autobiography, in which, while showing the many means eagerly employed by him to add to his library, he deplores the common ignorance of Greek, and intimates that he had taken care that all "our scholars should possess" a Greek as well as a Hebrew grammar. But Greek was really unknown for a century afterwards, or until the period of what is commonly called the revival of letters; the nearer causes of that resuscitation being the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the flight of learned Greeks into Europe, when five boats laden with them and their literary treasures crossed over to Italy. Among those exiles, Argyropylus and Chalcondyles, Andronicus Callistus and Constantine Lascaris occupy an honoured place. The early disputes excited by the renewed study of Plato, under the influence of Ficini and others, indicate the spreading love and acquirement of Greek. Greek chairs were founded in the universities, and filled by enthusi-

[1] See page 4.

astic teachers. In 1472, George Hermonymus, a Spartan, settled in Paris, and became the Greek teacher of Budæus and Reuchlin; and Gregory Typhernas also taught in the same city. Vitellius, an Italian, taught Greek at Oxford, having Grocyn as one of his pupils. Croke followed Erasmus, in 1522, as Greek professor at Cambridge. Calphurnius was first Greek teacher in Wolsey's new college, his successor being Lupset, who had been tutor to the cardinal's son commonly known by the name of Dr. Wynter.[1]

Grocyn, a Wykamist, eulogized by Erasmus as his "patron and preceptor," and in whom he admired a "universal compass" of learning, had, in 1491, begun to teach Greek at Oxford, after having been for some time in Italy. Colet, on returning from Italy to the same university in 1496, commenced a series of lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, though he had not yet taken deacon's orders. He was the sole survivor of a family of twenty-one brothers and sisters, and heir to a fortune left by his father, who had been Lord Mayor of London, and he yet lives in his noble foundation of St. Paul's School.[2] When Dean of St. Paul's, he was suspected of being a reformer, and persecuted by his diocesan, Bishop Fitzjames, who had been chaplain to Edward IV, and Lord High Almoner to Henry VII. Tyndale mentions it as a well-known fact, that Fitzjames would have made Dean Colet a heretic for translating the paternoster into English, had

[1] Tanner, Bale, and Leland give us incidental notices of a few Greek scholars, as Adam Eston, a Benedictine of Norwich, who died at Rome, 1397; John Bates, a Carmelite of York, 1429; Flemmyng, Dean of Lincoln, 1450; William Gray, Bishop of Ely, 1454; John Phrea, of Bristol (died 1464); William Sellynge, of All Souls, Oxford, who studied Greek in Italy, and who, as Prior of Christ's Church, Canterbury (1460), enriched its library with many MSS.; and Lebrix, a professor at Alcala, 1490. It may be added that, in 1472, Charles V bought one hundred Greek books, and that Francis I hired a Greek secretary, while Matthias Corvinus purchased an immense quantity of MSS. from Greek fugitives, his librarian at Buda being Bartholomew Frontinus, who had been a professor of Greek at Florence.

[2] Two of Colet's works, the Hierarchies of Dionysius, and Lectures on Romans, have been recently published, appropriately edited by T. H. Lupton, M.A., Surmaster of St. Paul's School, London, 1869. 1873.

not Archbishop Warham shielded him. Linacre had enjoyed, along with the children of Lorenzo del' Medici, the instruction of Politian and Chalcondyles, and having taken the degree of M.D. at Padua, he became court physician to Henry VIII, and in 1518 he founded the Royal College of Physicians, being also its first president. Erasmus eulogizes his acuteness, depth, and accuracy. Lilly, whom More calls "his most dear companion," was another of the revivers of Greek learning. He had studied five years at Rhodes, and was the first to teach Greek in the metropolis. He was chosen the first Master of Colet's School of St. Paul's, and his Grammar, published in 1513, has dictated Latin formulæ to many successive generations. William Latimer, Fellow of All Souls, in 1489 went and studied at Padua, and on his return taught Greek at Oxford. He was appointed tutor to Reginald Pole, to whom he owed his preferments in the church. Erasmus describes him as a "true divine, and noted for his integrity." Thomas More, afterwards the famous chancellor, belonged to the same eager band. In 1498, Erasmus came to Oxford with a recommendation to Father Charnock from the Prior and Canons of St. Geneviève, in Paris, and was at once welcomed into the College of St. Mary the Virgin. The thin, pale stranger did not know a word of English; but the object of his toil and travail was to obtain or perfect a knowledge of Greek.

Greek literature was thus studied with special keenness and assiduity, and the Scriptures began to be examined without regard to dry and worn-out forms. Cambridge was not behind Oxford; and the witty, vagrant, and laborious Erasmus, on a subsequent visit to England, held for some few years its chair of Greek, and, through the influence of Fisher, Chancellor of the University, was appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. The kindness of his patron Archbishop Warham Erasmus heartily repaid by a dedication to him of the Works of St. Jerome, and a long and elaborate eulogy in a note to 1 Thess. i, 7. This intense enthusiasm for the study of the old tongue of Hellas, created and exemplified by those early and devoted scholars, made it possible that the next translation of the New Testament should be from the original Greek; and

there was one ardent soul among them, but unrecognized by them, that was quietly and unconsciously disciplining itself for such a momentous enterprise.

Almost contemporaneous with the introduction of Greek learning, was the invention of printing, a mechanical craft, born to minister to intellectual power, at a time when its assistance was specially needed. For the European mind was waking up from the sleep of ages, and new ideas eager for dissemination could not wait the slow, expensive, and uncertain quill of the "brief-men."[1] The press, with its speed of impression and power of multiplication, fitted into the epoch, and gave to thought not only a permanent form, but immediate and wide diffusion. An author became a living centre to an immense circle of readers, and his words flew among them with rapidity and ease. The manufacture of vulgar material into paper had been no less astonishing; and a rag trodden in the wintry mire of the streets might be so transformed as to bear upon it a divine message, or become a portion of that Book "the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations."

Gutenberg,[2] or Gensfleisch, had made some experiments in printing with movable metallic types prior to 1439; after some delay and loss of money, Fust, a goldsmith of Mentz, was taken into his confidence, and, by his own genius and his partner's financial help, the Latin Bible was printed towards the close of 1455, in two folios of 1282 pages.[3] The world

[1] The wages of a copyist may be learned from one of the Paston Letters, W. Ebesham sends in his bill in 1468: "twopence a leaf" for prose, or in our money about two shillings, and a "penny a leaf," or one shilling, for verses of thirty lines in a page; ornamented letters, or "rubrisshing" in colour, being charged in addition. But the scribes were not always well rewarded. Bentley gave Wetstein only £50 for collating a manuscript of some size, and Wetstein tells that it took him two hours to read one page. Bentley's Correspondence, p. 501, London, 1842.

[2] He took his mother's name, his father's being Gensfleisch; and the inscription on Thorwaldsen's statue of him in Mentz names him Gensfleisch de Gutenberg.

[3] Called often the Mazarin Bible, a copy being discovered by De Bure in the Cardinal's library. A copy on vellum, sold in 1827, brought only £504; another, sold at the sale of the Perkins library in 1874, realized £3,400.

was all the while wholly ignorant of the strange occupation which had lodged itself in the midst of it. The swift and continuous issue of uniform copies, and the eagerness to sell for sixty crowns what the penmen would have charged four hundred for, led to accusations of magic, and suspicions of confederacy with the powers of evil. The first printers were willing to foster the impression that their pages were still inscribed by hand; but honest Caxton revealed the truth in the preface to his first publication. "It is not written with pen and ink as other books, but emprynted." A second edition of the Bible, by Fust and Schœffer, appeared in 1462, and there had been two editions of a Psalter in 1457 and in 1459. When one looks at the form of the letters,[1] "the strength of the paper, and the lustre of the ink" in these earliest volumes, he is inclined to conclude that printing has for the last four centuries made little improvement, save in quickness and cheapness, and that the art was perfect at its birth, like Athene springing at once in full armour from the brain of Zeus. The sack of Mentz in 1462 scattered the skilled workmen, so that the new power soon leapt out of its secrecy, was welcomed in Italy, and established in Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz, under Pope Paul II. The press at Rome sent out in a few years more than twelve thousand volumes in twenty-eight editions. The art was carried to Paris in 1469; but not to Scotland till 1507. About 1474, Caxton, who had learned the mystery abroad, set up a press at Westminster, and he had some noted successors, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, and Rastell. Through Holland, Germany, and France, the recent invention at once proved a power betokening yet mightier results. Another era had dawned, and in the revival of letters, and in the employment of the press, due preparation was made for setting forth the Bible in its own tongues and in translations, and for putting such texts and versions into immediate dispersion over all lands.

[1] The common form of letter so familiar to us, is called the Roman character, from a fount of types employed in the Roman capital, Italic letters being first used in Venice.

CHAPTER VI.

AMONG the youths attracted to Cambridge, probably by the fame of Erasmus, there was one who had been for some years at Oxford, a busy learner, whose studies and attainments in Greek were soon to be directed through life and death to the noblest of works—William Tyndale. Though William Tyndale has reared for himself an imperishable monument in our English Bible, the place and date of his birth are alike uncertain. On such points he is himself very reticent in his writings, perhaps from the fear of bringing others into suspicion and trouble. It has been for a century and a half the opinion of biographers that he was born at Hunt's Court, North Nibley, in the hundred of Berkeley, Gloucestershire; and in honour of that belief a handsome column has been erected to his memory on Nibley Knoll, a beautiful eminence in the Cotswold Range. But it is now believed that, though the Tyndales of Hunt's Court[1] might be relations of the martyr, they were not in possession of that property till after his death. Thomas Tyndale and Alice Hunt, of Hunt's Court, had a son named William, and Christopher Anderson and others have fixed on him as the Translator; but this William was alive in 1542, while the other was put to death at Vilvorde in 1536. Mr. Demaus[2] has lately discovered in the State Paper Office a letter from Stokesley, Bishop of London to Thomas Crumwell, which throws some light on the

[1] There had also been Tyndales who were farmers at Milksham Court, in the adjoining parish of Stinchcombe, and there was a Richard Tyndale, who held some reclaimed or river lands which formed part of the manor of Hurst.

[2] "William Tyndale, a biography," quite a model in brevity, clearness, and research.

question. The purport of the bishop's epistle is to ask a grant of a farm to one of his servants, and in pressing his suit he characterizes a rival suppliant in these significant words—"He that sueth unto you hath a kinsman called Edward Tyndale (brother to Tyndale the arch-heretic), and under-receiver of the lordship of Berkeley, which may and daily doth promote his kinsfolk to the king's farms." The Marquis of Berkeley, who died in 1492, left his estates to Henry VII, and Edward Tyndale collected the royal rents, having been nominated to the office by letters patent in 1519. The "Receiver"[1] got also a grant of the lease of the manor of Slymbridge in 1529, and this was probably at an earlier time the scene of both his own and his brother's birth, for the family had held some portions of it from the reign of Richard III. These statements, however, are in conflict with the pedigrees concocted for the translator; but Stokesley, who had himself been rector of Slymbridge in 1509, could scarcely be in error, and his precise assertion must be in the meantime regarded as conclusive evidence on the point. Foxe is therefore to be credited, when, because he had not or could not get more definite information, he notes, "Touching the birth and parentage of that blessed martyr of Christ, he was born on the borders of Wales." The surname would indicate that the family originally came from the north of England. There were Lords of Tyndale at an early period; and Adam de Tyndale held a barony under King John. Some of the branches are supposed to have dropped their name from being involved in the Wars of the Roses, and to have adopted the more plebeian appellation of Hitchens, Hutchens, or Hochens. On the title-page of his first avowed publication, the name is "William Tyndale, otherwise called Hichens." The name Hitchin occurs in Doomsday Book, County of Hertford. But this story about the reason of change of the name is said not to be older than the period of Charles II. According to the genealogy given at some length by Anderson and Offor,[2] there had been a Baron de Tyndale of Langley Hall, and from the

[1] Annals of the English Bible, vol. I, p. 16, &c. London, William Pickering, 1845.

[2] Life prefixed to his reprint of the New Testament, London, 1836.

second son of the last baron several families, including that of the translator, had sprung. But many points in this genealogy are not at all satisfactory, or beyond dispute. Offor is not to be implicitly followed, and Anderson's hero-worship lulled him into credulity. Both of them relied on some statements made by Oade Roberts, who was collaterally descended from the Tyndales of Hunt's Court.[1]

As Tyndale was some years younger than Sir Thomas More, who, according to the best account, was born in 1478 (the year then running to Lady day, March 25th), his birth may be placed in 1484 or 1485, a century after Wycliffe's death. He was sent to college at an early age, "brought up from a child in the University of Oxford." According to Wood, he was "trained in grammar, logic, and philosophy in the Mary Magdalene's Hall," founded by Bishop Waynflete in 1448, and commonly called "Grammar Hall," from the prominence given in it to classical learning, under the tuition of Grocyn, Latimer, and Linacre. His course was of some length—"by long continuance he grew up and increased in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts."

But the Bible had already attracted his love and labour. His proficiency was seen not only in common and secular studies, but "specially in knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted, insomuch that he read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalene College[2] some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures." His character was in harmony with his pursuits, "his manners and conversation were such that all who knew him respected and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition and life unspotted." According to Foxe, "he proceeded in degrees of the schools at Oxford"; but Wood writes, "whether he took a degree doth not appear in our registers." The retort of Sir Thomas More is usually supposed to imply that Tyndale had graduated. In showing that

[1] British Museum, Additional MSS., 9,458.

[2] A portrait of Tyndale, with a Latin inscription, hangs in the Refectory of the College. Magdalene Hall was a sort of preparatory school in connection with the larger foundation of Magdalene College.

"grace" has various meanings, Tyndale adds in illustration, "In universities many ungracious graces there be gotten"; and More answers with a bitter sneer, "He should have made it more plain and better perceived, if he had said, as for example, where his own grace was there granted to be Master of Arts." But such an invective is not positive testimony. There is no ground, however, for supposing that he was expelled from the University on account of holding any novel doctrines; though perhaps he may have incurred some suspicion, as Colet had done by his unscholastic lectures, for Foxe relates, "increasing more and more in learning, and spying his time, he removed thence to the University of Cambridge, whence he made his abode for a certain space," being now "further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word." Erasmus was at Cambridge from 1509 to 1514, and Tyndale may have resolved to study under the most famed scholar of the age.

No record of Tyndale's ordination has been preserved. There is, however, a legend that he was ordained priest to the Nunnery of Lambley on the western border of Northumberland; but according to Warham's register, this Tyndale, who was ordained in St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, on the 11th March, 1502-3, belonged to the diocese of Carlisle, and in that year William Tyndale had not reached the requisite age for orders. Another fiction about him is that, in 1508, he entered as a friar into the Monastery of the Observants at Greenwich. On the title-page of a small folio book named "Sermones de Herolt" (1495), in the library of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, the Rev. R. H. Barham found the inscription, "Charitably pray for the soul of John Tyndale, who gave this book to the Monastery of Greenwich on the day that brother William his son made his profession, in the year 1508." But the inscription does not help to any identification, and Tyndale's own words, sometimes adduced as collateral proof of the statement, have been misunderstood. In the preface to the "Wicked Mammon," he relates that one William Roye had been with him, and that a year after his departure came over "Jerome, a brother of Greenwich also"—"also," that is, as well as Roye. The two men both belonged to the reformed order of Franciscan friars,

and the adverb "also"[1] is in no way intended to include Tyndale himself, as indeed the context plainly determines. Besides, to lay aside the cowl was a misdemeanour never to be forgotten or forgiven, but not one of Tyndale's adversaries ever taunts him with such unpardonable violation of his vows. While More calls Luther, Œcolampadius, Roye, and Jerome either friars or apostates, he names him simply Tyndale, or Sir William, or Hitchins. Ridley also, in writing in 1527 to Archbishop Warham's chaplain, speaks with discrimination of Mr. W. Tyndale and Friar William Roye; and in a list of names written on the last leaf of a copy of the Pope's Bull of 1520 against Luther, inserted in Tunstall's Register of 1530, there occur, "Willimus Tyndall; Willimus Roy, apostata; Ricus Brightwell (Fryth)"; the odious epithet being given only to the perjured friar. The story, therefore, that Tyndale had been a monk, which is found in Offor,[2] and repeated from him by Blunt,[3] Dabney,[4] and the author of the "Introduction to Bagster's English Hexapla," is completely disproved.

On leaving Cambridge, Tyndale resorted to one Master Walsh, a knight of Gloucestershire, "and was there schoolmaster to his children." We can only conjecture why, probably in 1521, Tyndale left Cambridge, and why, in his prime, he became tutor in a rural mansion to children so very young, the eldest of them, born in 1516, being only six years of age. Perhaps he had met with some disappointment, or his convictions, based on the teachings of Scripture, had prevented him from seeking preferment in the church, or aspiring to any position of honour and usefulness in his university. Writing in 1531, he refers to certain ecclesiastical omens which he had been marking "above this dozen years"; his observations had,

[1] The most of the brief phrases within inverted commas found in these pages are from Foxe, v, 114, &c.; and it may be added that his first edition, consisting so much of original documents in the words of contemporaries, is greatly fresher and more graphic than the subsequent issues.

[2] Life, p 8.

[3] A plain account of the English Bible, p. 31, London, 1870. The "Account" is a reprint of the tenth chapter of his "Reformation of the Church of England."

[4] Preface to Tyndale's New Testament, Andover and New York, 1837.

therefore, commenced during his academic residence. Sir John Walsh, who had been knighted as the king's champion at the coronation of Henry VIII, lived at Little Sodbury Manor, a few miles from Tyndale's birthplace. "He kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table," and Tyndale met there many ecclesiastics of the West of England, "abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great beneficed men." When his conversation with these guests incidentally grew into disputes, his standard of appeal was the "Book," with which he was well acquainted, and which had been, in fact, the study of his life. Sir John and his lady who was "stout and wise," were tempted to tell him on one occasion that, since so many divines with wealthy livings did not hold his views, it was surely not to be expected that he, so poor and dependent, was to be listened to with implicit credence. His reply to such an argument—which weighed learning by social position and emolument—was his translation of the Enchiridion Militis Christiani of Erasmus,[1] a treatise which gave him new favour in the eyes of his patrons who were greatly edified by it. This handbook, or "pocket dagger of the Christian soldier," written in 1501, teaches that Christianity does not consist in the reception of scholastic dogmas, or in the observance of ceremonies, but in yielding suit and service to the Saviour-king, and in carrying on continuous warfare against all that is evil in one's own heart, or in the world around him.[2] His own earlier ecclesiastical beliefs had certainly been shaken, though none of Luther's books could at this time have come into his hands. In these free and unguarded discussions referred to, he was creating a character for himself; and prejudices against him soon ripened into open hostility. According to Fuller, the dignified clergy at length preferred to forbear Master Walsh's good cheer, rather than have his "sour sauce therewith." "Unlearned priests," as Tyndale himself calls them, "being rude and ignorant, and having seen no more of Latin than that

[1] It was published in an abridged form by Coverdale, and is included in the Parker Society edition of his Works, p. 489. An account of it will be found in Drummond's Erasmus, vol. I, p. 113, London, 1873.

[2] Erasmus explains Enchiridion by pugiunculus.

only they read in their portesses and missales," flocked together to the ale house, "which is their preaching place," and there raged and railed at him. Such accusations were soon carried to the spiritual authorities. Giulio del' Medici, the Bishop of Worcester, afterwards Pope Clement VII, dwelt in his own sunny land, and when Tyndale appeared, in answer to his summons before Dr. Parker, the diocesan chancellor, he was "reviled and rated as though he had been a dog."[1] Sir Thomas More afterward says of him, "that before he went abroad he savoured so shrewdly that he was once or twice examined of heresy."[2]

The tutor was in this way stigmatized by enemies who, making up in vituperation what they wanted in argument, called him "a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, and a heretic in divinity." All this persecution on the part of men without scholarship or literary culture must have fretted him, while it showed him his true mission, and gradually tended to crystallize his floating ideas into the great and firm purpose of his life,—the translation of Scripture. In a brief autobiography contained in his preface to the "Five Books of Moses," Tyndale throws the impulse and resolve to be a translator back to this epoch. He observed that "the sense of the divine Word was obscured by expositions clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text— which thing only

[1] The vehemence of Parker got him some years afterwards into expensive trouble. William Tracy, Esquire of Toddington, Gloucestershire, had, in his will of date October, 1530, left on purpose no money for masses or prayers "to help" his soul, as he trusted in the merits of the one Mediator, Jesus Christ. The Convocation of 1531, alarmed at the circulation of this testamentary deed, declared him excommunicated, and this sentence, according to Decret. Greg. lib. i, tit. xxxviii, c. 12, entailed the disgrace of exhumation. Parker dug up and burned the heretic's bones, without waiting for a writ required by the statute de Heretico Comburendo. For this illegal proceeding against his father's dead body, Richard Tracy at once sued Chancellor Parker, who was fined £300, or about £4,500 at present value. Tyndale's tract on Tracy's Testament will be found in his Works, vol. III, p. 271, Parker Society edition.

[2] Dialogue, book iv, chap. 17. Works, p. 283, London, 1557.

moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text."[1] That this chief end was now steadily in his view is disclosed by his own words. In a controversy with a "certain divine recounted for a learned man," who in a burst of indignation had retorted, "It were better to be without God's law than the Pope's," Tyndale replied, "I defy the Pope and all his laws," and avowed that, "if God spared his life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than the Pope did." And he kept his word, his translation being so terse and simple that all who could read it might understand it. Some, commenting on this utterance, style Tyndale "a young dreamer." But he was no youth, for he was in "the mid-time of his days," and the dream was a waking one—one of those visions that grow "realities to earnest men"; and are like those of Joseph, that so soon translated themselves into fact. He may have made some experiments—some tentative translations—about this time, and he longed now for some peaceful retreat to begin and carry on his self-imposed task. Such was his simplicity of soul that, in reply to various invectives against his boldness, ambition, and love of notoriety, he quietly answered on one occasion, "He was contented that they should bring him into any county in all England, giving him ten pounds to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach."[2] Being so "turmoiled in the country," he was at length obliged to leave the family of Sir John Walsh, who, he foresaw, would not be able "to keep him out of the hands of the spiritualty," and he came for refuge to the metropolis in the end of the summer, or in the autumn, of 1523.

After preaching for some time at St. Dunstan's in the West,

[1] Works, vol. I, p. 393. Parker Society edition.

[2] It may be noted that Tyndale often preached at this time in various parts, as at Bristol, "in the common place called St. Austin's Green."

he asked for admission into the household of Cuthbert Tunstall, who had become Bishop of London in 1522, of whose learning and love of learned men he had heard, and whom Erasmus "praiseth exceedingly." The praise referred to belongs, however, to a subsequent period. Tunstall is mentioned in the preface to the fourth edition of the New Testament, but not with exceeding praise. As his recommendation to his Lordship, he sent him an English version of an oration of Isocrates.[1] The specimen was presented through Sir Harry Guildford, the royal comptroller, and a commendatory letter was also transmitted through "one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance." "If I might," he wrote some years afterwards, "come into the Bishop of London's service, thought I, I were happy." But he was disappointed, the answer of the bishop being that his house was full, and the applicant was advised, if not encouraged, to seek what he wanted somewhere else in London. Tyndale was, according to his own account of himself, "evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted";[2] and probably, from his awkward rusticity, he made no impression on my Lord of London, whom his disappointed visitor pourtrays as a "still Saturn that seldom speaketh, but walketh up and down all day musing, a ducking hypocrite, made to dissemble." These acid words indicate that the bishop had received him with cold politeness, listened to him in silence, and dismissed him with scant courtesy. Tunstall's haughty taciturnity probably so froze him that he did not venture to hint at his project of translating the New Testament. Had he intimated such a purpose, the bishop would have given him an answer which he must have put on record. His own conclusion is, "God saw that I was beguiled, and that counsel was not the nearest way to my purpose; and therefore he gave me no favour in my Lord's sight." No new patron turned up to

[1] A handsome edition of Isocrates had been published at Milan in 1493, bearing witness to the editorial taste and scholarship of Demetrius Chalcondyles. Another edition was published by Aldus at Venice in 1513. Neither of these texts has the accompaniment of a Latin translation.

[2] Letter to Fryth in 1532 or 1533.

forward his views, but Humphrey Munmouth, merchant, showed him no little kindness, having been attracted to him by the style and earnestness of his sermons, and he then took up his abode with this "Gaius," his host. As Munmouth dealt in cloths, he had commercial transactions with the manufacturers of Gloucestershire, among whom would in all likelihood, be some of Tyndale's relations. Munmouth was the benefactor of many other reformers, such as Fryth; and it is most probable that at this time Tyndale made the acquaintance of one so "like minded," who became so dear to him, and preceded him in martyrdom. For Fryth had not come to Cambridge before Tyndale left it, and he was arrested with others at Oxford in 1528.

A year's residence in London taught Tyndale many painful lessons, and he traced the divine hand and purpose in his disappointments. The pomp and power of ecclesiastical dignitaries, their blindness and their security, their disrelish of evangelical truth and their malignant opposition to the circulation of the Scriptures even in Greek; their dread of change, and their stern suspicions of all who might ripen into reformers, saddened him and brought him to "understand at the last, not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament; but also, that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now (1530) openly declare." He must have observed many indications of a darkening period of conflict. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, had, in 1516, instituted Corpus Christi College at Oxford, and given it teachers both of Latin and Greek. Wolsey, "a scholar, and a ripe and good one," had also, in 1519, founded a Greek professorship at Oxford, and another of Rhetoric and Latin. The occupants of these chairs were violently assailed; but the king interposed and ordered that "the study of the Scriptures in the original languages," should not only be permitted for the future, but received as a regular branch of academical study. Such incidents showed an incipient appreciation of the study of the original Scriptures, and it was not too profound a vaticination to foresee that the next step after the possession and study of the Greek New Testament, must

naturally be the translation of it as a national necessity. Tyndale had likewise seen the effects of the Greek New Testament at Cambridge, its saving power on some, and its hardening effect on others; indeed, one of the colleges had forbidden the entrance of the book within its walls, "by horse or by boat, by wheels or on foot," and Erasmus himself had been openly opposed by Lee and by Standish.[1] Tyndale could forecast, from such commotions, what the result would be at no distant date, and could divine that the authorities in the church would rise from warning to formal inhibition, and from it to persecution and capital punishment.

The path which Providence had marked out for Tyndale was not one of bustle, remonstrance, or agitation. His work needed quiet and leisure, prolonged and undisturbed study. His manner of life in London was honestly told a few years later, by Munmouth, in self-defence before the Privy Council, in May, 1528. He was formally accused of giving money to Tyndale when he was abroad, of contributing pecuniary help to the translation of the New Testament, and of having his version and some heretical books in his possession. His house had been searched, and himself examined and sent to the Tower on the 14th of May. Four days after his imprisonment, the "poor prisoner" sent a memorial to Wolsey and the Council praying for liberation. This memorial describes in simple terms the manner of Tyndale's life, while he stayed with this kind protector. "I took him into my house half a year; and there he lived as a good priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; and he would eat but sodden meat, by his goodwill; and drink but single small beer. I never saw him wear linen about him, in the time he was with

[1] See, on the Novum Instrumentum of Erasmus, Seebohm's Oxford Reformers of 1498, London, 1867, p. 365. Lee asserted that he had discovered 300 errors in it, and Standish was horrified beyond measure at the substitution of *sermo* for *verbum* in John i, 1. Both men adored the Vulgate, and many of their contemporaries believed in the inspiration of Jerome. Stunica was patriotically indignant that Erasmus had dared to spell his native country Σπανία in Rom. xv, 28, not Ἱσπανία, robbing the haughty kingdom of a letter.

me. I did promise him ten pounds sterling to pray for my father and mother, their souls, and all Christian souls. I did pay it him when he made his exchange to Hamborough. Afterward he got of some other men, ten pounds sterling more, the which he left with me. And within a year after, he sent for his ten pounds to me from Hamborough, and thither I sent it him by one Hans Collenbeke. And since I have never sent him the value of one penny, nor never will. I have given more exhibitions[1] to scholars in my days than to that priest. The foresaid sir William left me an English book, called Enchiridion.[2] Also, I had a little treatise that the priest sent me, when he sent for his money. When I heard my lord of London preach at St. Paul's Cross, that sir William Tyndale had translated the New Testament into English, and was naughtily translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil of him."

Ten pounds was then probably equal in value to £150 of present currency. An acre of land was at this period about eightpence in annual value, and the average price of wheat was six and eightpence a quarter, while beef or pork was a halfpenny, and mutton three farthings a pound. In 1525, a pair of hose cost two and fourpence, and a pair of shoes one and fourpence. Latimer's father had a farm of three or four pounds by the year. A penny a day as a labourer's wages, therefore, represents considerably more than a shilling at the present time.[3] By Act of Parliament under Henry V, "the wages of a parish priest had been fixed at £5, 6s. 8d. a year, and the statute remained in force in the reign of Henry VIII. Bradford the martyr writes in 1549, "My fellowship here (Pembroke Hall) is worth seven pounds a year. . . . Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me."[4] The salary of Udal, as head-master of Eton, was ten pounds a year; and ten pounds a year was all that Tyndale himself asked for support in teaching and preaching.

It need not create surprise that in the declaration of Munmouth the poor scholar is usually called Sir William.

[1] Small pensions or stipends.
[2] See p. 112.
[3] Froude's History, vol. i, p. 21, &c.
[4] Works, p. xviii, Parker Society.

"Sir," representing the Latin Dominus, does not seem to have been given, at least originally, to all priests. It was not an academic title, but was conferred at first on persons in orders who had taken a Bachelor's degree. Those who had proceeded to M.A. were called Master, Magister.[1] "Sir" is often the title given to domestic chaplains, probably because many of this class, from poverty or other causes, had left the university without taking the Master's degree. As a complimentary title it may have been given at length on a wider scale; but Masters and Doctors would repudiate it, as they had the right to a more distinctive appellation.[2] The familiar apellation of Sir William would, therefore, seem to imply that Tyndale had not become Master of Arts.

[1] There are lists of Scottish clergy, as in Knox's History and other old documents, in which occurs the title "Sir," along with Magister, Frater, and Doctor. Knox himself is called Sir John Knox, as he had not a Master's degree. In Bishop Longland's letter to Wolsey about the spread of heresy at Oxford and the introduction into the University of Tyndale's translation, there is this list given of ringleaders, "with Master Garret; with Master Clark: Sir Fryth, Sir Dyot and Anthony Dalaber, of Albans Hall, the last being a secular scholar. Fryth had taken B.A. at Cambridge, prior to his translation to Oxford, but Garret, curate to the rector of Honey Lane, London, wore his Master's hood when he carried his faggot from St. Mary's to Cardinal College.

[2] See p. 109.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT Tyndale could not enjoy in England his eager spirit hoped to find abroad. He left London, probably in May, 1524, certainly not in January, as Anderson thinks, for at that season the navigation of the Elbe is impeded by the ice. His expatriation was forced upon him; residence at home was incompatible with the duty which he had laid upon himself. Some seven years after, in 1531, he appealed to Vaughan, a candid correspondent of Crumwell and King Henry, in feeling words, which the envoy repeated to His Majesty: "If for my pains therein taken; if for my poverty; if for mine exile from my native land, and bitter absence from my friends; if for my hunger, my thirst, and my cold, and the danger with which I am everywhere compassed, and finally, if for innumerable other hard and sharp fightings which I endure."[1] . . . He did not become a Stoic, soured at his country and longing for revenge. He was no fanatic ever weaving plots and combinations to secure his return; no splenetic fugitive bewailing his fate in bitterness of soul, or venting his wrath in puny diatribes or malignant satires. He felt all the privations of an exile from a land "loved and longed for;" but, having counted the cost, and made his choice, he patiently and heroically suffered scorn, poverty, sudden flights, with other nameless evils, that he might finish his work. If the faces of kindred and friends sometimes haunted him, and the voice of a mother or sister fell like a soft and distant echo on his ear, if at such a weary moment he was tempted to look back, his hand never left the plough which always traced a deep and straight furrow.

[1] Cotton MSS., Titus, B. i.

Tyndale took up his residence in Hamburg, a solitary and unknown foreigner, and set about his great undertaking. It is impossible to say whether he had made much progress in it previously to his departure, but the months of study, "most part of the day and of the night," at his book, which he spent under Munmouth's roof were very probably devoted to translation, for he had come to London burning with strong desire to do this "one thing." He was not allowed to do it in the bishop's palace, as he had so fondly anticipated, but he must have begun it in the house of the cloth merchant, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking. The brief time that elapsed between his arrival on the Continent and the completion of the printed New Testament, in a version so admirable and with not more marks of haste upon it, prove that he must have carried some portion of prepared material with him from England. But the fragment, containing a small section of the New Testament, which Offor refers to as having the initials W. T., and the date 1502, has been declared by Mr. Fry of Bristol to be a forgery, on evidence which Canon Westcott affirms to be "absolutely conclusive." This fragment (Luke vii, 36-50) may be found at p. 9 of Offor's Life of Tyndale, prefixed to his reprint of the first edition. It is a translation from the Greek; but there was at that time no printed Greek Testament, the first edition of Erasmus not being published till 1516. Besides, it is simply Tyndale's own version of 1526 very slightly altered, and yet preserving all his peculiar turns.

How long Tyndale remained at Hamburg cannot be made out. But it was an opinion early held, and often repeated, that on leaving Hamburg he went to consult Luther, and that he commenced, if he did not complete, his translation at Wittemberg. The assertion, in its first half, is supported by such names as Cochlæus and Sir Thomas More, taken for granted by Foxe, repeated by Bishop Marsh,[1] by Offor, Froude,[2] Demaus,[3] and many others. It has been as keenly denied on the other hand by not a few biographers and critics.

[1] Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, p. 13. London, 1838.

[2] History, vol. III, p. 78.

[3] Life of Tyndale, p. 93.

The discussion of this point ought, however, to be prefaced by one preliminary remark. It was a mistake of no common magnitude to associate the name and work of Tyndale with the name and work of Luther. The mistake, however, can be easily explained, as it was common at the time to call all men Lutherans who showed any leaning towards reformation. The great Reformer had so stamped an image of himself upon the Teutonic movement, that similar tendencies in other lands were vaguely named after him. Sir Thomas More, King Henry, Lee, and Cochlæus, regarded Tyndale as a promoter of Lutheranism, and his Testament was loosely spoken of as a translation of Luther's German version. The title page of Sir Thomas More's Dialogue reads, "Touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale." But it is against all evidence to call Tyndale Lutheran[1], or to aver that his purpose was to promote Lutheranism in his own country. He was no sectarian, was never a Lutheran himself, was never allied to Luther as colleague or instrument, and nothing was farther from his thoughts than to found a sect and identify his own name with it. His "Notes" show that he had long been opposed to the papal pretension of supremacy, and to the papal errors and superstitions; but he never laboured to form or organize any protesting party. To give an English Bible to the English race from the original text was his life-labour; and he first sent it abroad without his name; for he was willing to remain an unrecognized benefactor, to be hidden "in a cleft of the rock" as the divine glory passed by and settled at length over his beloved fatherland. The English envoy, Vaughan, justifying himself to Crumwell who thought that he was favouring the Translator, avows "that he was neither Lutheran nor Tyndalian"—the only place in the mass of correspondence where the latter epithet occurs.[2] His own disclaimer toward the end of his life, is very touching and solemn:—

[1] Yet the epithet clung to him through his life, and in the bill of expenses incurred for his execution, the process by the procureur-general of Brabant is said to be directed "*Tegen heeren Willeme Tindalus priestere gevangen Lutraien.*"

[2] Cotton MSS., Galba, B. x, p. 21, &c.

"Moreover, I take God, which alone seeth the heart, to record to my conscience, beseeching Him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote, of all that I have written, throughout all my books, ought of an evil purpose of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the Church of Christ; or to be author of any sect; or to draw disciples after me; or that I would be esteemed, or had in price above the least child that is born; save only of pity and compassion, I had, and yet have, on the blindness of my brethren, and to bring them into the knowledge of Christ; and to make every one of them, if it were possible, as perfect as an angel of heaven; and to weed out all that is not planted of our heavenly Father; and to bring down all that lifteth itself against the knowledge of the salvation that is in the blood of Christ."[1]

Tyndale's work was very different from Luther's. The one was mighty by tongue and pen, for he was a man of war, of downright blows, unwearied in assault, leonine in courage, often in a rage against opponents, and dealing out to them unmeasured scorn and vituperation. The more scholarly Melancthon would have shrunk from such battles; but whatever his hand found to do, Luther did with a mighty and demonstrative earnestness. Tyndale, on the other hand, carried out his tranquil toil in his study and on the one book of divine truth which he sent forth "turned into the vulgar speech," to be "known and read of all men." If he did not enter the lists a joyous champion like Luther, he released a still mightier power when he despatched across the "silver streak of sea" the English Bible, that the people might see and read the simple, plain, and profitable Book of Truth. The visit to Wittemberg ought, therefore, to be dissociated from all imputations of Lutheranism and all tendencies toward it.

That Tyndale really travelled to Wittemberg may at the same time be argued from the following considerations. The visit is not a recent invention, or a mere conjecture of later times. All his contemporaries, friends as well as foes, affirm

[1] "Protestation" to his revised edition of the New Testament of 1534.

that he went to confer with Luther. Foxe asserts that "he took his journey into Germany and into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in these quarters."[1] The martyrologist delivers the statement without the least hesitation, and was suspicious of nothing in it derogatory to Tyndale's fame as a reformer, or to his originality as a translator. Cochlæus, whose name will soon occur again, speaks of him and Roye as two English apostates who had been some time at Wittemberg, and who at the moment were printing the New Testament in Cologne. Cochlæus was himself on the spot, and with his prying nimbleness and industry he could scarcely be mistaken. He had not, indeed, seen the volume which was then at press, and could only form a conjecture as to its nature, but that conjecture was based on the temporary sojourn of Tyndale in Luther's city.[2] One of the charges preferred in 1528 against Munmouth, Tyndale's benefactor, was that "with his knowledge, William Hutchin otherwise called Tyndale, and Friar Roye, or either of them, went into Almayne to Luther, there to learn his sect;" and Munmouth in his reply does not deny the accusation, or plead any ignorance of the journey to Wittemberg. Sir Thomas More affirms that Tyndale, though he "dissembled" here, yet as soon as he left England, "gat him to Luther straight"; that at the time of his translation of the New Testament, "Tyndale was with Luther at Wittemberg, and the confederacy between him and Luther was well known."[3] The assertion was wrong in so far as it assumes that Tyndale translated at Wittemberg, and "set forth certain glosses on the margin, framed for the setting forth of the ungracious sect"; but to show that the assertion was no guess of his own, he adds, "as touching the confederacy between Luther and him, it is a thing well known by such as been taken and convicted here of heresy."[4] So that the belief was current among all who had known or had heard of Tyndale's wan-

[1] Acts and Monuments, vol. IV, p. 119, London, 1838.

[2] De Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri, p. 132—*Duo Angli apostatæ qui aliquamdiu fuerant Wittembergæ.*

[3] Dialogue, Book III, c. 8, p. 221. Do., Book IV, c. 17, p. 283. Works, London, 1557.

[4] Answer to More, p. 147. Works, vol. III, Parker Society ed.

derings. More, indeed, had his own end to serve in dwelling so pointedly on the report; but if it could have been denied, or if the evidence had been contradictory, his purpose would have miscarried. Tyndale in his answer replies only to the charge of "confederacy"—"When he says Tyndale was confederate with Luther, that is not truth." He thus denies the alleged confederacy alone, and the denial, after six years' residence on the continent, would have been still more decided if he had, or could have, declared that he had never seen Luther, or had been in his company. Such a form of denial would have been very natural and conclusive if he had been warranted to adopt it. The selection of only one point in the accusation, and the curtness of the answer, would lead us to infer that Tyndale had been with Luther, though certainly he was never in concert with him. More accepted Tyndale's disavowal of the confederacy, for he drops the charge, while he still repeats the assertion that "Tyndale hath been with Luther, . . . therefore I must needs mistrust him."[1] Such was also the interpretation of Foxe, who edited the work where Tyndale's denial occurs, and yet inserts in his biography of the translator the statement which we have already quoted. Anderson, however, so misquotes Tyndale's denial as to make it decisive of the controversy. First he writes it correctly: "Tyndale was confederate with Luther—that is not truth," but he gives it an ingenious twist on the next page, thus: "Tyndale was with Luther—that is not truth," assigning to Tyndale a declaration which he never wrote, and took special care not to write. He so identified confederacy and visit, that he seems unconsciously to have made the alteration.[2] The rumour had also spread into France. Lee, the king's almoner (and afterwards, in succession to Wolsey, Archbishop of York), who was on a journey to Spain,

[1] Confutation, Works, p. 419.

[2] The writer knew Mr. Anderson somewhat in his older days, about the period of the publication of his "Annals," when he was overflowing with Tyndale. Archdeacon Cotton (Preface to Editions of the Bible, p. x) is wrong in saying that he was "a minister at Glasgow." His residence was in Edinburgh, where he ministered ably and earnestly to a congregation of "the most straitest sect" of Baptists.

wrote from Bordeaux a letter to His Majesty on 2nd December, 1525, in which he imparts this information, "Please it your Highness to understand that I am certainly informed, as I passed in this country, that an Englishman, your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and within few days intendeth to arrive with the same imprinted in England."[1] The king himself also repeats the statement in his letter to his subjects, "Luther fell on device with one or two lewd persons born in this our realm, for the translating of the New Testament into English."[2] Dr. Robert Ridley, Bishop Tunstall's chaplain, in a letter written 24th February, to Henry Golde, Archbishop Warham's nephew and chaplain, unfolds a similar story: "As concerning this common and vulgar translation of the New Testament into English, done by Mr. William Hichyns, otherwise called Mr. William Tyndale, and Friar William Roye, manifest Lutheran hereticks and apostates, as doth openly appear by their daily company and familiarity with Luther and his disciples. . . ."[3] Paul Freherus also asserts the visit to Luther, but erroneously includes Fryth in it.[4] Finally, the supposition that Tyndale remained any long period in Hamburg is rendered less likely on the ground that this city had no printing press at the time, or for some years afterwards. Such a fact puts an end to the supposition of Anderson and others, that during his sojourn in Hamburg Tyndale "printed Matthew and Mark by themselves." Surely it is not at all probable that Tyndale would tarry for a year in a town where his fixed purpose to issue an English New Testament, could not be carried out.[5] But the assertion of Green that Tyndale, at Luther's instance, translated at Wittemberg the Gospels and Epistles[6] is unwarranted conjecture, wholly

[1] Cotton MSS., Vespasian, C. III, fol. 211.

[2] The king's letter is printed in Herbert's edition of Ames's Typographical Antiquities, p. 297, London, 1785.

[3] Cotton MSS., Cleopat. E. V., p. 362.

[4] In his "Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum," p. 109, 1688.

[5] On this point compare "Maitland's Reformation in England," p. 371, &c., London, 1849.

[6] History of the English People, p. 342, London, 1874.

opposed to known facts and dates. Nor did Tyndale, as he goes on to say, after Froude, "establish a press at Antwerp, where he was soon busy with his versions of the Scriptures." For there is only one version—the first edition of 1526, and the second of 1534. Nor was Tyndale even in Antwerp at the time of the visitation of Cardinal College in 1528, for he published at Marburg, in October of that year, the "Obedience of a Christian Man."

Arguments against the visit to Wittemberg are of no great moment. It has, for instance, been alleged that Luther's occupation at the time would have made a visit from Tyndale undesirable, if not impossible. But though Luther was hotly engaged in the fierce sacramentarian war, and was rabidly thundering against his antagonists, his jovial nature gave welcome to all strangers who might seek his presence—his heart and home were open to them. Besides, though we do not know from Tyndale himself what his opinions on the sacrament were at that period, Sir Thomas More affirms more than once that at first he did adopt views akin to those of Luther, and the affirmation was not contradicted. Nay, according to More, Tyndale converted Barnes from the "Zuinglian heresy"; and Luther would, on that account, have cordially congratulated the English pilgrim. Tyndale, in writing to the young martyr Fryth during his imprisonment, calmly cautions him about a point disputed so keenly—"of the presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can."

But the great objection to any interview between Tyndale and Luther is the suspicion which it is thought to cast on his independence as a translator, and it has even been maintained against all evidence that he did not understand German. Cochlæus, indeed, mentions incidentally, that he had learned it at Wittemberg. That he knew it can admit of no doubt to any one who examines the fragment of St. Matthew, the only fragment left of his first quarto edition; for of the ninety-two glosses on the margin, more than a half are from Luther's New Testament, forty-one only being his own. He has also introduced into the prologue at least one-half of Luther's

preface, and added but four original notes. Besides, the prologue to Romans published by him in 1526 is, to a large extent, a free translation of Luther's. In reply to the indisputable assertion that Tyndale in these instances translated from the German, it has been contended that Luther's preface to Romans had already been rendered into Latin in 1523, by Justus Jonas, and that therefore Tyndale used this Latin text. But if any one will collate the German and Latin with the English version, he will find that Tyndale had both forms before him, and that while he rendered from the Latin chiefly, he took from the German what phrases struck him as being more pointed, or better suited in their fulness to his immediate purpose. It is true that, "within a year" after his departure from England, Tyndale is found in Hamburg, whence, through a merchant of the Steelyard,[1] he sent for his ten pounds, and thither Munmouth transmitted it to him. But the intervening months leave ample space for a journey to Wittemberg and a return to the seaport, where he could so readily get the money in order to begin printing at Cologne in the autumn.

Tyndale left Hamburg for Cologne probably in the summer of 1525, and was accompanied by his amanuensis, Roye, who had joined him some months before. In this city he put to press the New Testament in quarto, with marginal glosses, Peter Quentel being the printer. Quentel was connected in business with Byrckman, and the Byrckmans had bookshops both in Paris and in London. Tyndale's original intention was to print six thousand copies; but for fear of any mischance, and not from present or anticipated want of funds, he con-

[1] The Steelyard (the name still survives) was a German Guildhall (aula Teutonicorum), and was granted by royal letters patent in 1260. It was situated in the parish of All Hallows, near London Bridge, and was well protected by its massive walls, the "Easterling" merchants congregating there being from the Hanse towns and Rhineland, to which so large a portion of English products was exported. The name is said to have been derived from a court or yard where steel had been sold at an earlier period. Fifteen thousand Flemings were settled in London, and were jealously watched by the ecclesiastics. Five merchants of the Steelyard, suspected of being Lollards, did penance at St. Paul's when Barnes abjured.

tented himself in the meantime with three thousand. The mischance, however, did happen, and in a way quite unlooked for. Cochlæus, a keen and busy enemy of the Reformation, was at the time an exile in Cologne, and he found out and put a sudden end to Tyndale's secret enterprise. He tells his own story with a quaint and wondrous simplicity.[1] From the boast and babbling of the printers about the great change soon to take place in England, he learned something of the work which was proceeding in silent mystery. But as he could neither see nor converse with the two Englishmen, "learned in languages and fluent," and so shrewdly suspected by him, he plied some of the workmen with wine in his own lodgings, as he does not hesitate to avow, and he learned from them, over their cups, that three thousand copies of this "Lutheran New Testament," in quarto, were at press, and that ten sheets were printed, or as far as the letter K, in ordine quaternionum; that English merchants were to bear the expense, and swiftly and safely convey the books to England, before king or cardinal could be aware of the importation. Cochlæus, in his alarm and amazement at a conspiracy "worse than that of the two eunuchs against Ahasuerus," consulted Herman Rinck, a patrician, then applied to the authorities who made full inquiry, and found that the information laid before them was correct, there being "great abundance of paper to complete the edition." On appeal to the senate, the printer was interdicted; but the "two English apostates," snatching away with them the quarto sheets already printed, fled by ship up the Rhine to Worms, where the

[1] Johann Dobneck, or Jodocus Cochlæus (the last Latin name representing the meaning of Wendelstein, the place of his birth, near Nuremberg), has told the story three times—first in a letter to James V of Scotland, in a controversy with Alexander Ales on the question, An expediat laicis, legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula, vi Idus Junij—that is 10th June, 1533; and again in his Scopa, or reply to Sir Richard Morysin, Leipzig, March, 1539. In his Commentaria de Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri, 1549, the fullest account is given. In this book, written twenty-four years after the event, he refers distinctly to the intoxication of the printers—"postquam mero incaluissent"—p. 134.

people "were under the full rage of Lutheranism."[1] At Worms, probably in October, printing was resumed; an octavo edition, without glosses, was also put to press and finished, and the quarto edition was completed, three thousand copies of each being thrown off. A small portion of the quarto has been recovered, and it contains, with the prologue, twenty-one chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, or rather it stops with Matthew xxii, 12. This fragment, consisting of sixty-two pages or thirty-one leaves, does not contain as far as K; but if the signatures had been worked off as far as I, a considerable portion of Luke must have been printed, and Tyndale and Roye must have carried off with them to Worms twenty-seven thousand sheets. The fragment was discovered in 1836, by Mr. Rodd, an antiquarian bookseller in London, and is now in the Grenville Library, British Museum. It has been carefully photo-lithographed by Mr. Arber, and an excellent preface is prefixed.[2] The identification of the press was made by a collation of the form of letter and other technical minutiæ, with works known to be printed by Quentel. An initial *y*, and a woodcut which, the New Testament being abruptly stopped, was afterwards pared down to fit the page of another publication, a Commentary on St. Matthew, by Rupert, a former abbot of Deutz in the twelfth century, being among the chief means of identification. The quarto was probably finished, and the octavo wholly printed, by Schœffer (son of the first printer at Mentz), who, on account of his Protestantism, had been obliged to leave his native city. A comparison of some books issued by Schœffer proves that he also printed the New Testament, as its type, size of sheet, number of lines, and watermark in the paper are the same as in the other volumes issued from his press.[3] Proofs of this nature cannot be adduced for the quarto, as the only part preserved was printed at Cologne. It is strange that the place where these Testaments were printed is asserted to be Antwerp by Ames—Herbert, Panzer, Burnet, Froude, Hal-

[1] In the pithy words of Cochlæus, "*Ubi plebs pleno furore lutherizabat.*"

[2] London, 1871.

[3] See Mr. Fry's Introduction to his facsimile of Tyndale's New Testament, pp. 8, 9.

lam, Marsh, Russell, and Smiles; by Johnson and Newcome; while Macknight and Whittaker give the alternative of Hamburg or Antwerp, and Blunt proposes Cologne, where a small portion only of the quarto had left the press. Cochlæus had already warned the king, Wolsey, and the Bishop of Rochester to watch all the ports, in order to prevent the introduction of "that most pernicious merchandise";[1] and Tyndale, who could not be aware of what the spy had written, but, probably suspecting that some communication would be sent to England, proceeded at once with the octavo, that it might find its way without attracting to itself special attention and suspicion. He himself seems to give the priority of printing to the octavo—"When I had translated the New Testament, and added a pistle unto the latter end,"—the reference being to this edition. In the same "Pistle or address to the Reder," at the end of the volume, he says "I beseche that the rudeness off the worke at the fyrst tyme offende them not." The text of the quarto was apparently somewhat revised before it was reprinted in the octavo form. For though there are not many variations, perhaps not more than fifty between the two issues, the majority of the readings peculiar to the octavo are found in Tyndale's subsequent editions. The eye of the translator was vigilant; in the quarto, Matthew xx, 23, the text is "to give you"; but "you," which originated in the Vulgate, is omitted rightly in the octavo. Of the octavo only two copies survive, one perfect but without the title page, in the Baptist Theological Library, Bristol, of which Mr. Fry has published so correct and beautiful a facsimile. The other, which is imperfect, is in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral.

It would seem that there were also separate editions of Matthew and Mark. Ridley, in a letter already quoted from, speaks of "Matthew and Mark in the first print."[2] The reference is not precise: as the "first print" with the "commentaries and annotation," might refer to the quarto. Foxe seems to point to an edition of Matthew by itself. On April 28, John Tyball, on examination before Tunstall, confessed to

[1] Merx illa perniciosissima. [2] Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, E. V, p. 362.

having the "New Testament in English, and the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in English,"[1] which he had of John Pykas, of Colchester. The translation of Matthew and Mark, which would form a small thin volume, has been supposed with some plausibility to have been the little treatise that Tyndale conveyed to Munmouth, when he sent for his promised "exhibition." That such a section did exist is highly probable, and it may have been printed as a first experiment at Wittemberg. But the fragment of the quarto has no connection with this earlier issue; for its Prologue refers to all the books of the New Testament as following it, and there is a catalogue of them.

[1] Harleian MSS., p. 421.

CHAPTER VIII.

TYNDALE entered on the momentous and responsible work of translation from noble and disinterested motives. With characteristic self-abnegation he does not obtrude himself in his first preface,[1] but simply says, "The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that others should imagine than that I should rehearse them." So conscious was he of his integrity, that he fondly hoped to prepare an English New Testament in the palace of the Bishop of London as one of his chaplains. He had thought of the task when he was a domestic tutor, and had then spoken with prophetic rapture of the result. In his preface to the five books of Moses, he argues with earnestness the necessity of a translation, and shows the baseless objections brought against his own. "When I had translated the New Testament, I added an epistle unto the latter end, in which I desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were amiss. But our malicious and wily hypocrites say, some of them, that it is impossible to translate the Scripture in English; some, that it is not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics; as it would, no doubt, from many things which they of long time have falsely taught, and that is the whole cause why they forbid it, though they other cloaks pretend; and some, or rather every one, say that it would make them rise against the king, whom they themselves (unto their damnation) never yet obeyed." . . . As for my translation, in which they affirm unto the lay

[1] Reprinted separately, with some variations, under the title, "A Pathway into the Holy Scripture."

people (as I have heard say) to be I wot not how many thousand heresies, so that it cannot be mended or correct; they have yet taken so great pain to examine it, and to compare it unto that they would fain have it, and to their own imaginations and juggling terms, and to have somewhat to rail at, and under that cloak to blaspheme the truth; that they might with as little labour (as I suppose) have translated the most part of the Bible."

His exile and his continuous self-denial were endured for this special and glorious end—the preparation of a New Testament in the island tongue. He was forced to go abroad, to scorn privation, danger, and solitude, that he might translate; but he did not forget his country, for it he toiled and suffered. He protested to Vaughan, the English envoy, in 1531: "Again, may his grace, being a Christian prince, be so unkind to God, which hath commanded His word to be spread throughout the world, to give more faith to wicked persuasions of men, which, presuming above God's wisdom, and contrary to that which Christ expressly commandeth in His Testament, dare say that it is not lawful for the people to have the same in a tongue that they understand; because the purity thereof should open men's eyes to see their wickedness? Is there more danger in the king's subjects than in the subjects of all other princes, which in every one of their tongues have the same, under privilege of their sufferance? As I now am, very death were more pleasant to me than life, considering man's nature to be such as can bear no truth."[1] Not only was he governed by the highest of impulses, but he carried out his task with perfect honesty. In a letter to Fryth, "his dearly beloved brother Jacob," written in 1533, he devoutly and solemnly appeals to God as the witness of his entire conscientiousness: "For I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus Christ, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire

[1] Cotton MSS., Titus, B. 1, p. 67, British Museum.

of God to myself, in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws."[1] Fryth, in his Reply to More, expresses perfect harmony of view: "Tyndale, I trust, liveth well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave His Son Christ and His faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many mites as ye be of pounds; although, I am sure that, for his learning and judgment of Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England." After quoting a portion of the stirring letter to himself, he then adds: "Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, and innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin; howbeit, no man is innocent before God which beholdeth the heart." And he had already delivered an eloquent and bold protest: "This hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God—I mean the text of Scripture—may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues, and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write no more."[2] With the modesty of a true scholar, and that humility which so befits a translator of the divine volume, Tyndale's appeal in the first preface is, "exhorting instantly, and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have better gifts of grace to interpret the sense of Scripture and the meaning of the spirit than I, to consider and ponder my labour, and that in the spirit of meekness; and if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. He was conscious of the imperfections of his work—"many things are lacking which are required," and bespeaks indulgence, on account of "very necessitie and combrance (God is recorde) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves"; referring not only to his anxious and incessant literary toil as a translator, but to his

[1] Foxe, vol. V, 153.

[2] Works of Tyndale and Fryth, vol. III, p. 344, 339, ed. Russell, London, 1831.

abrupt flight with the printed sheets from Cologne, and the hurried press work at Worms.

To this ingenuous purity of purpose was united rare scholarly ability, and the English New Testament is conclusive proof of the competence of the workman. Wycliffe was able, a hundred and fifty years earlier, to render only from the Vulgate, the book of the church, and the work sufficed for a time; but Tyndale translated at once from the inspired Greek original, and his learning was quite equal to the task. He had studied both at Oxford and Cambridge during the revival of Greek scholarship, and he had translated an oration of Isocrates so well, at least in his own opinion, that he carried it to London with him as a proof of his proficiency, to be laid before Tunstall, no mean judge. Few priests in his day possessed such knowledge of Greek; very many, "twenty thousand of them, and not so few," could not translate the simplest clause in the Lord's Prayer; but he had enjoyed signal advantages. Sir Thomas More himself witnesses of him, "that before he went over the sea, he was taken for a man of sober and honest living, studious and well learned in Scripture, and looked and preached holily; . . . . that before he fell into these phrenzies he was taken for full prettily learned."[1] Tyndale speaks freely and familiarly of various languages, and thus addresses More, "until at the last the lay people had lost the meaning of the ceremonies; and the prelates the understanding of the plain text, and of the Greek, Latin, and especially of the Hebrew. . . . Remember ye not how, within this thirty years and far less, and yet dureth to this day, the old barking curs, Dun's disciples, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and what sorrow the schoolmasters that taught the true Latin had with them?"[2]

He confidently appeals to Sir Thomas More himself on points of scholarship: "These things be even so Master More himself knoweth, for he understandeth the Greek, and knew

[1] Dialogue, book iv, chap. 17, Works, p. 283.

[2] Answer to More, p. 75; Works, vol. III, Parker Society edition. It would seem from one of the visitations of Bishop Hooper, that many of the clergy could not tell who was the author of the Lord's Prayer, or where it was to be found.

them long ere I." More never questions his scholarship, and he virtually denies the "Supper of the Lord" to be Tyndale's on account of its lack of learning. When George Joye, who had touched him to the quick by editing and altering his translation, was challenged for his unworthy procedure, he at once measured himself by Tyndale's great erudition, and admitting it, while he dares and defies it, cried, "I am not afraid to answer Tyndale in this matter for all his high learning in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, &c."[1] A famous contemporary, Herman von dem Busche, who was a stranger at the time, and a casual visitor at Worms, bears a similar testimony, which is recorded in the Diary of Georgius Spalatinus, under date the day after St. Laurence Day—that is, 11th August, 1526. Busche told Spalatinus[2] that Tyndale had edited six thousand English Testaments, and that he was so versed in seven different languages—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Britannic, and French—that whichever he spoke you would suppose it was his mother-tongue.[3] As he had been some time in Germany his knowledge of German, seen in his use of Luther for the prologue to the quarto Testament, is apparently taken for granted; and as it was the tongue daily spoken by him, it is naturally omitted in the enumeration. That this report is exaggerated[4] is very probable, but Busche was not a man easily imposed upon. He was the friend of Reuchlin, and one of the three authors of the trenchant Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum.[5] In a word, Tyndale's reply to Sir Thomas More, in vindication of certain terms adopted by him into his version, is sufficient proof that he was well equipped for the blessed labour which he had taken in hand after reviewing its perils, and to carry out which he had left country and kindred. His ability to translate from the Greek text can, after such testimonies, scarcely be questioned with propriety.

[1] George Joye's work will be described in a subsequent page.

[2] Schelhorn's Amœnitates Literariæ, vol. IV, p. 431.

[3] In ea natum putes.

[4] There is an exaggeration in the *centenis millibus aeris*, which Busche declared the English people to be willing to pay for six thousand copies of the English Testament.

[5] Sir William Hamilton's Discussions, &c., p. 226.

Not only was he the translator, but he was the sole translator. He had no literary assistance in his work, no pioneer and no guide; no one to follow and no one to help him. Though he might have had a copy of Wycliffe, it could be of little or no service to him. In the Epilogue to the first edition, he speaks thus: "Them that are learned Christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding, that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not; but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit,[1] neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime. . . . Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto), we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen through negligence, and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used." . . . No one, after such a clear statement, can doubt that the translation belongs to him as the one workman, or that he first constructed the pattern which so many have followed both in spirit and letter.

But various assistants have been assigned to Tyndale in the execution of his great work. Strype hazards the baseless assertion that Tyndale was assisted by Joye and Constantine,[2] and the opinion is repeated by Cooper that Constantine assisted Tyndale and Joye.[3] The two Englishmen described by Cochlæus as being so busy at Cologne, Walter concludes "must have been Tyndale and Fryth."[4] Froude asserts

[1] Counterfeit here means to imitate, as often in his New Testament, 1st Cor. iv, 16, to counterfeit me; Eph. v, 1, Be ye counterfeters of God; 1 Thess. i, 6, and ye counterfaited us; 1 Thess. ii, 14, Ye brethren did counterfaite the congregations of God, &c.

[2] Memorials, vol. I, p. 82.

[3] Athenæ Cantab., vol. I, p. 205.

[4] Letter to Bishop Marsh, p. 143.

"that Joye joined Tyndal at Antwerp, and shared his great work with him."[1] But the first New Testament was not printed at Antwerp, and Joye did not leave England till after its publication; for he printed at "Straszburge" the reason of his recent flight in a small book: "The letters whyche Johan Ashwell, pryour of Newnham Abbey besydes Bedforde, sente secretly to the Byshope of Lyncolne, in the yeare of our Lorde MDXXVII, wherein the sayde pryour accused George Joye, that tyme being felowe of Peter College in Cambridge, of fower opinyons, with the answere of the sayde George unto the same opinyons." Lord Herbert also speaks carelessly, of "the Scriptures as having been translated into English by Tindal, Joy, and others."[2] Holinshed and Baker use similar language in their Chronicles. Johnston and Newcome, two professed historians of the English Bible, give Fryth to Tyndale for his helper, and Fuller calls Fryth the "Baruch to this Jeremy." This erroneous opinion is accepted by Le Long, Crutwell, Lewis, and Dean Hook,[3] and by Offor and Dabney in their formal biographies of the Translator. But Fryth, who had been a student at Cambridge, and was brought by Wolsey to his new college at Oxford as one of its canons, did not leave England till long after the New Testament was issued, as he fled from persecution at Oxford in 1528.

Tyndale, however, had an assistant, Friar Roye, but he was only a corrector of proofs and a collator of texts. His light character and his propensity to weave satirical verses were a sore grievance to the translator, who was burdened with the grave responsibility of his work, and anxious not to give any public provocation which might hinder its reception or blight its usefulness. His own account of Roye is at once stern and amusing, as he gives it in the "Preface to the Wicked Mammon," than which, according to Sir Thomas More, "there never was made a more foolish, frantic book":—"While I abode[4] a faithful companion, which now hath taken another

[1] History, vol. II, p. 31.

[2] History of Henry VIII, p. 469 (A. Murray, London).

[3] Lives of the Archbishops, vol. II, p. 139, new series.

[4] Abode—that is, waited for, as in Acts, xx, 23.

voyage upon him, to preach Christ where, I suppose, he was never yet preached (God, which put it in his heart hither to go, send His Spirit hither with him, comfort him, and bring his purpose to good effect), one William Roye, a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be thorough known—and namely, when all is spent—came unto me, and offered his help. As long as he had no money somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was ended, I took my leave and bade him farewell for our two lives, and (as men say) a day longer. After we were departed, he went and gat him new friends; which thing to do he passeth all that ever I knew. And there, when he had stored him money, he gat him to Argentine, where he professeth wonderful faculties, and maketh boast of no small things. A year after that, and now twelve months before the printing of this work, came one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich also.[1] Which Jerome I warned of Roye's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk quietly and with all patience, and long-suffering, according as we have Christ and his apostles for an example.

"Nevertheless, when he was come to Argentine (Strasburg), William Roye (whose tongue is able not only to make fools stark mad, but also to deceive the wisest—that is, at the first sight and acquaintance) gat him to him and set him a-work to make rhymes, while he himself translated a dialogue out of Latin into English, in whose prologue he promiseth more a great deal than I fear me he will ever pay."[2] Tyndale was

[1] The brother so referred to is unknown.

[2] The allusion is to the "proper Dyalogue," &c., and to the Satire, "Rede me and be nott wrothe." Wolsey, "the red man," "the vile butcher's sonne," must have been provoked beyond measure by the bold and savage onslaught made upon him, and Cochlæus comes in also for his share—

"One called Coclaye,
A littell pratys foolyshe poade,
More venemous than any toade."

p. 43, Arber's reprint, 1871. A copy was found by Lord Arthur Hervey,

most anxious to free his work from all degrading associations, that it might go forth in its own unsullied might and grandeur. His unqualified disclaimer was the more necessary, for Sir Thomas More was inclined at first to impute the authorship of the offensive verses to the translator.

Few helps in the shape of grammars and lexicons were within his reach. But some works of the kind had already appeared, as the Greek Grammar of Lascaris, at Milan, in 1476; Craston's Greek Dictionary, in 1478; and his Grammar, in 1497. The Dictionarium Græcum from the press of Aldus, issued in 1497, and in 1499 the Lexicon of Suidas had been published at Milan. Aleander's Lexicon Græco-Latinum came out at Paris in 1512; and in 1513 Aldus had printed the Institutiones Grammaticæ of Budæus.

The publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus formed a great epoch in the history of Western Christendom. He laid the literary world under immense obligations to him by his editions of so many Greek and Latin classics, but his New Testament was a gift of incalculable value to the church. He unsealed the Book of Life, and brought numerous readers face to face with the divine volume. Though he had but few manuscripts, and was even obliged to translate some verses in the last chapter of the Apocalypse from the Latin text of the Vulgate, he did a work which, with all its defects, brought revival to true Biblical theology, and kindled a pure and living flame which "many waters cannot quench, neither can many floods drown." His humorous and satirical Tractates, like his Adages and Colloquies, could not of themselves have produced the profound and necessary changes which were essential to a national Reformation in creed and service. He may have been timid, neutral and indifferent as regards the Lutheran Revolution; his theological writings may not probe the depth of man's spiritual experience and struggles, and, unlike the utterances of a man in deep and earnest thought on the

Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1862, bound up in an old volume. It was also printed by Whittingham, Chiswick Press, 1845, but not published. An original copy of the translation of the Dyalogue, bound up with the Satire, has been recently discovered in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

momentous issue, they may have about them the frosty elegance of a chill intellectual discussion; but any alleged shortcomings and inconsistencies as a reformer cannot detract from his unspeakable merit as a first editor of the Gospels and Epistles in their original tongue, nor lessen the value of that folio which, under his care, issued from the press of Froben at Basle in 1516.

As the version so clearly demonstrates, Tyndale translated directly from the Greek text, using the second and the third editions of Erasmus, published in 1519 and 1522. He admitted the famous passage in 1 John v, 7 about the "three witnesses," which occurs first in the third edition of Erasmus—the two previous editions of 1516 and 1519 omitting it. Tyndale occasionally agrees with the second edition of Erasmus in preference to the first, as in Rom. xii, 11, where, like Luther, he has "applye yourselves to the tyme," instead of "serving the Lord,"[1] and so in his second edition, and in the Great Bible. It was altered first in the Genevan version. The fourth edition (1527) he does not seem to have consulted at all. Erasmus had in his second edition changed "ye kill" into "ye envy" in James iv, 2, but he corrected it in his third edition. Tyndale, however, took it from the second edition, and kept it without amendment in his revised issue; and, like a vile weed which cannot be uprooted, it is found in all the subsequent English versions, in Coverdale, Matthew, the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops', but it was rightly changed in the Authorized Version.[2] Tyndale omits in his first edition, without authority, a clause in John xiv, 3, "and if I go and prepare a place for you." No reading adopted by Tyndale betrays any acquaintance with the Complutensian Polyglott.

[1] Erasmus having κυρίῳ in his first edition, but καιρῷ in his second.

[2] In his first edition Erasmus spoke of φονεύετε, "ye kill," as being written by a drowsy scribe—scriptor dormitans; the Vulgate, however, having *occiditis*.

CHAPTER IX.

BUT the two points to which attention may be called are the relation of Tyndale's New Testament on the one hand to the German Version of Luther, and its relation on the other hand to the Latin Vulgate. It was his duty to use both helps, and he did so. Yet though he carefully and continuously consulted them, he was quite independent in his treatment of them. In direct contradiction of Tyndale's own affirmation that he rendered from the Greek, and of the palpable evidence afforded by the translation itself, it has been asserted that he simply rendered Luther's Testament into English.[1] The story had a natural origin in these early days, when every religious novelty was branded as Lutheran; but it has been often repeated since. Le Long, the learned bibliographer, calls the first edition "The New Testament in English from the German of Martin Luther." The assertion is baseless, though between Luther and Tyndale there are many points of similarity. The order of the books of the New Testament which Tyndale adopted is not that of Erasmus, whose Greek text he translated, but that of Luther, though he never mentions the Reformer's name. Thus,

[1] Luther's first intimation of his purpose to translate the New Testament is in a letter to Lange in 1521, and on January of the following year he wrote to Amsdorf, "I will translate the Bible, though I have undertaken a burden too great for my strength;"—"a very necessary work," as he calls it in his reply to King Henry. There had been earlier versions, but their circulation had been small. Luther's translation at once laid hold of the people—being what Hegel calls it in his Philosophy of History, "a people's book, a fundamental work for their instruction." It was published anonymously, and without date.

too, the Epistle of James is put next to Jude, and that to the Hebrews next to the Third Epistle of John, first by Luther and then by Tyndale. He also follows Luther in making the last three verses of the fourth chapter of Hebrews the commencement of the fifth chapter. Many of Tyndale's notes in the first quarto are, as we have seen, translations more or less free of those of Luther. At the close of the long prologue to Matthew, he introduces Luther's opinion on the comparative value of the writings of the New Testament; but what Luther says about the Epistle of James is omitted, for he had called it "a downright strawy epistle," *gegen sie*, "in contrast with them"—the other epistles. Luther had no prologues to the Gospels, while Tyndale has them, though he gives none to the Acts and the Apocalypse. The other prologues rest on Luther's, especially those to 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, Titus, and the Epistles of John. But the treatment of the appropriated matter is by no means slavish. The prologue to 1 Corinthians omits many allusions to passing events which the German leader introduced, and that to Philemon keeps out Luther's allegory, which is strained and unscriptural in its doctrine; for it says, "Christ overcame the Father with love and meekness," and thus tends to ignore that eternal and spontaneous love in which the Father gave His Son as Redeemer. The prologue to Hebrews controverts Luther on the apostolic authority of the Epistle, and tries to show that his objections are grounded on "misconceptions of the passages adduced," while it leaves the authorship undetermined—"a man may doubt of the author, yet why should it not be authority, and taken for Holy Scripture?" The prologue to James is also directed against Luther, and maintains that though its canonical authority has been impugned, or "at the beginning refused of holy men," as its purport was misunderstood, "yet, as it is agreeable to all the rest of Scripture, why should it not be authority, and taken for Holy Scripture?" An explanation is added of the paragraph concerning faith and works. The prologue to Jude also vindicates its claim to a place in the canon, "though it seems to be drawn out of the Second Epistle of Peter, and thereto allegeth Scripture nowhere found,"

and these are Luther's two main objections to it. In his prologue to Romans, Tyndale made a scholarly and wise use of Luther's, both in its German and Latin forms.

One peculiarity of Tyndale's Old English is sometimes adduced to show how dependent he was on Luther. The peculiarity so taken hold of is the position, after the verb, of the personal pronoun as a nominative, Matthew xiii, 13, Therefore speak I; Luke ii, 29, Now lettest thou; similarly in 1 Corinthians vii, 12, To the remnaunt speake I; 17, So orden I; ix, 22, Became I as weake; 1 John i, 3, Declare we unto you; and it is to be marked that the idiom is still retained from Tyndale in all these places in the Authorized Version. Bishop Marsh, in trying to prove that "Tyndale's translation was taken at least in part from Luther's" lays undue stress on these examples of what he calls "Germanisms," or direct imitations of German diction.[1] But this order is common in all the old English writers of that age—in Sir Thomas More, and often in Tyndale's own prose. Besides, there are many places in which Tyndale has the idiom where Luther has it not; as in 1 Cor. ix, 26; xii, 31; 2 Cor. vii, 13; xi, 24; 1 Thess. ii, 13; Heb. v, 8; James i, 18. The old form in all these seven verses is still preserved in the Authorized Version, and is opposed to the rendering of Luther who in them places the nominative before the verb. Tyndale has another singularity, for he sometimes omits the nominative of the first person altogether, as in Galatians i, 10, seke nowe, for seek I now; and in 2 Cor. xii, 10, there is the same absence of the pronoun, "have delectation," "I" being left out.

But while Tyndale did not merely "do into English" the German of Luther, he always translated with Luther's version before him, and many phrases are shaped or suggested by it. While such renderings as "Goddes love" (Romans viii, 35), "lest ye fall into hypocrisy" (James v, 12),[2] "the worlde knoweth you

[1] Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, p. 518, London, 1838.

[2] Stephens had inserted εἰς before ὑπόκρισιν, the true reading being ὑπὸ κρίσιν. The wrong rendering is found also in Tyndale's second edition, of course in Coverdale, and in the great Bible; but it was corrected in the Genevan and in the

nott" (1 John iii, 1), are in Luther, they are also the correct translation by Tyndale of the Greek text of Erasmus. Tyndale's rendering "toward our Lord Jesus" (Acts xx, 21), is also according to Erasmus, a reading which Luther did not adopt, as he preferred the Vulgate. The following are examples of the influence of Luther on Tyndale's version:

Matthew i, 1, this is the boke; Matthew ii, 18, on the hilles was a voyce herde; Matthew xviii, 19, the word "Jesus" is omitted; Matthew xxi, 43, shalbe geven to the gentyles; John xix, 17, the place off deed menns sculles; Acts xxviii, 2, the people off the countre; but in translating the term in 1 Cor. xiv, 11, Tyndale forsook Luther's tamer rendering, and accepts "alient," and "barbarous" in Colossians iii, 11; Acts xxviii, 16, under captayne, chefe captayne Romans i, 14, to the grekes, and to them which are no grekes; Romans ii, 5, harde herte that cannot repent; Romans xi, 13, I will magnify myn office, where the Vulgate agrees with Luther; 1 Cor. i, 25, Godly folysshnes, 11, 14, the natural man; 2 Cor. v, 11, we fare fayre with men; 2 Cor. vi, 12, ye vexe youre selves off a true meanynge; Eph. iii, 15, which is father over all thatt ys called father in heven and in erth; Colossians iii, 16, and spretuall songes which have favour with them; 1 Tim. i, 7, doctours in the scripture; Rev. xi, 2, the quyre which is within the temple; Rev. xxii, 14, their power may be in the tree off lyfe.

But while the assertion that Tyndale only turns Luther into English is utterly erroneous, it has been alleged, on the other hand, that he translated at once and solely from the Vulgate, and not from the Greek text. Thus, Hallam states in a colourless note: "It has been a matter of dispute whether it (the New Testament) were made from the original language or from the Vulgate."[1] Macknight, however, affirms without hesitation that Tyndale translated from the Vulgate, and that, as the subsequent English editions are but revisions of his work, our Authorized Version rests in this way ultimately on

Rheims, which could not avoid the accurate rendering of *ut non sub judicio decidatis.*

[1] Constitutional History of England, vol. I, p. 83, note.

the Latin Bible. He cites Hollybushe's version, and wholly mistakes Coverdale's connection with it, his statement being "the version which Coverdale allowed Hollybushe to print, was the one which he had published in his Bible; consequently, it was Tyndale's translation." The assertion consists of an inexcusable series of blunders. Coverdale, in 1538, had published, for reasons assigned by him, the Latin New Testament, with a literal English translation of it on the same page; and Macknight, in speaking of it, falls into some extraordinary errors.[1] He blunders first, in taking this professed English version of the Vulgate, made for a purpose, to be the New Testament which Coverdale had already published in his Bible; but the Scottish critic had never handled the volumes, or even looked into them, for a few moments' collation must have convinced him that the version in the Diglott is not that of the earlier Bible. A cursory glance at both the versions would have flashed the reality upon him, and taught him that only in supreme carelessness could any one identify, for a moment, Coverdale's translation of the Vulgate with his earlier New Testament. By a second blunder, he leaps to the conclusion that the New Testament of Coverdale's Bible is Tyndale's translation; for though it does base itself on Tyndale's revised edition of 1534, it is yet a distinct version. The same grievous error has been repeated more recently in a Serial of some pretensions: "We have only to add that the real origin of what is commonly called the 'Authorized' English version, explains in a moment the cause of so many defects. It is primarily and essentially the translation of a translation. Wycliffe, who first rendered the Scriptures into English, was unacquainted with Greek or Hebrew, and translated from the Latin Vulgate, so that his work bore more of its imperfections and errors, as well as those of his own judgment in the execution of his work. Succeeding versions (such as those of Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthews, Hollybusche, Cranmer, Taverner, the Geneva, the Bishops', and, lastly, that of the translators nominated by King James in 1604-11) were only superficial attempts to revise the original work of Wycliffe, instead of beginning at the beginning,

[1] A new Literal Translation of the Epistles, &c., London, 1821.

with the original Hebrew and Greek texts."[1] It is astonishing and sad to find such singular charges made at the present day. Not to speak of the subsequent versions at this point, it may be replied that he is surely a bold man who thus ventures to give the lie to William Tyndale, for he affirms that he translated from the Greek text without the assistance of any predecessor, and his work bears out his veracity. Let any one compare it with Wycliffe's version or the Rheims version, both taken from the Latin, and he will soon see the entire and scholarly independence of Tyndale. There needs no other proof. Similar perverse statements are adopted by Granville Penn, who boldly throws out the crude opinion that "in 1526, Tyndale published his revision of the English or Wycliffe New Testament at Antwerp or Hamburg."[2] The book was printed certainly at neither of these places. The proofs of Latin influence and origin adduced by him are the words Testament, sacrament, altar, sacrifice, Calvary, Diana, Mercury, and masters for teachers; but the introduction of some of these proper names is easily explained from the long use of the Vulgate in the Western Church. He also instances "virtue" in Mark v, 30, Luke vi, 19, viii, 46, as taken from Wycliffe. Wycliffe certainly in those places used "virtue" in no moral sense, but as meaning a secret healing power; but the word is found with that signification in old writers, and the phrase in all parts of the country is still in use, as in the common question, "Is there any virtue in that drug?" Not only was the Latin term naturalized at a very early period, as denoting valour, but the adjective also as meaning salutiferous, as in Shakespeare, "Whose liquor hath this virtuous property;"[3] "Like the bee culling from every flower the virtuous sweets."[4] Another example brought forward by him is the clause "dispersed among the Gentiles," John vii, 35, where it is said Gentiles comes from the Latin *gentium*. But what, then, shall be said of such places as Romans, ii, 9 and 10, where Tyndale

[1] Biblical Notes and Queries, p. 195. Edinburgh, 1871.

[2] Annotations on the Book of the New Covenant, p. 6, London, 1837.

[3] Midsummer Night's Dream, act iii, scene 2.

[4] King Henry IV, second part, act iv, scene 4.

has "Gentile" though the Vulgate has "Greek" in both places?

To show Tyndale's untrammelled use and treatment of the Vulgate, let us take some places where there are peculiar readings. Luke ii, 14, in the Vulgate, "men of gŏodwill," but Tyndale has, "and unto men rejoicing," the common Greek reading; Mark xi, 26, and the clause Luke xvii, 36, "Two men shall be in the field," are both omitted by Tyndale, though they are found in the Vulgate. The Vulgate has a clause in Luke xvi, 21, rendered by the Rheims translators, "and no man did give him,"[1] but Tyndale ignores it, though Wycliffe accepted it. In Matt. vi, 1 the Vulgate has *justitiam*, "righteousness," but Tyndale has "alms," and in vi, 11, the Latin has *supersubstantialem*, but Tyndale gives "our daily bread." Like the Vulgate, he omits the doxology to the Lord's Prayer, and the Complutensian Polyglott also omits it; but he inserted it in his revised edition of 1534. In Luke ii, 18, the Vulgate has "and concerning these things,"[2] but Tyndale follows the Greek text, "wondered at those things." In Matt. xviii, 8, Tyndale follows the Vulgate, and translates "cut him off"; but the singular is also the reading of Erasmus.[3] In the same chapter, verse 29, "at his feet" is wanting in Tyndale, and the corresponding Latin phrase is not found in the Vulgate; but the Greek is also wanting in Erasmus of 1522, from which Tyndale usually translated. In Matthew xix, 20, "from my youth," was accepted by Tyndale as it was adopted by Erasmus. In Matt. xxiii, 1, "Rabbi" the second time is rejected by the Vulgate and by Tyndale, but it is not found in Erasmus. In Matt. xxv, 2, the epithet "foolish" stands in the first clause and "wise" in the second, as in the Vulgate, but the same order is also in the text of Erasmus. In Acts ii, 30, the words "according to the flesh —Christ," of the Received Text are omitted, as in the Vulgate; but they are also absent in Erasmus, and the omission is correct. In such cases as these it cannot be asserted that Tyn-

[1] Et nemo illi dabat.

[2] Et de his.

[3] "Them" of the Authorized Version represents αὐτά in Beza and Stephens.

dale followed the Vulgate, as his version corresponds to the reading of the Greek text of Erasmus. In Acts vii, 60, Tyndale does not accept "in domino" of the Vulgate, but gives simply, as in the Greek, "he fell a slepe." He has not followed sacramentum (Eph. v, 32), for he renders "this is a grete secrete." "Malefactours," (Luke xxiii, 39) is from the Greek, the Latin having "thieves." 1 Tim. iii, 16, the Vulgate has quod, "which," but Tyndale has "God." Though he occasionally refuses the Vulgate, still he often prefers it, as in Matthew xxiv, 1, where pestilence is placed before hunger, that order not being found in Erasmus or in any early Greek edition.[1] If he has accepted the Vulgate in the rendering "blindness" in Eph. iv, 18, he had not taken it in John x, 16, for he translates not "one folde,"[2] but "one flocke." Fold came in with the great Bible in 1539, the Bishops' kept it, and even both Genevan versions have "shepefolde." In Jude 12, "spots," instead of the proper rendering "rocks," is from the Vulgate, and Tyndale was followed by all his successors. "Jesus" is omitted in Matt. i, 18, after the Vulgate; but it is inserted in the edition of 1534.

But, while Tyndale does not implicitly follow the Vulgate, it suggested many renderings to him, and was continually before nim:—

Matt. iv, 5, pinnacle of the temple; Mark v, 34, be whole off thy plage, as also in Rev. xxii, 18;[3] Mark xii, 44, they all putt in of their superfluite; Luke ii, 13, a multitude of hevenly sowdiers; ix, 62, and loketh back is apte to the kyngdom of god; xi, 13, Howe moche more shall your father celestiall geve a good sprete; xii, 20, this night will they fetch awaye thy soul again from thee—the Greek verb being plural, and "again" suggested by "rēpetunt"; 45, my master wyll differe his commynge; xvi, 22, 23, buried in hell; xxiii, 39,

[1] "Pestilentiæ" is not found in the old Latin of the Codex Palatinus, nor in the Latin of the Codex Beza. Critical editions now reject it also from the Greek on good authority.

[2] The Vulgate has "ovile," but the old Latin has "grex," the Greek being ποίμνη—Luther having rightly "eine Heerde und ein Hirte."

[3] But the Greek itself has here πληγάς in this place.

the one of the malefactoures which hanged rayled on hym, "malefactors," being rendered "evil-doers" in a previous verse; John i, 5, comprehened; ix, 22, for the iewes had conspyred a allredy; xii, 26, Yf eny man mynistre vnto me; xiv, 2, In my father's house are many mansions; xviii, 38, I fynde in him no cause at all; Acts viii, 2, dressed Steven; Rom. ii, 9, tribulation and anguish; vii, 8, wrought in me. . . . . concupiscence; 1 Cor. xii, 23, which we think least honest, honest in the Latin sense of honourable; Galatians ii, 11, was worthy to be blamed; iii, 10, are vnder malediccion, but in verse 13 the noun is rendered curse; Eph. vi, 14, gyrd about with veritie; Coloss. i, 13, translated; 2 Thess. iii, 6, every brother that walketh inordinately; 1 Tim. vi, 17, that they be not exceedynge wys; Hebrews ii, 1, lest we be spilt; iii, 14, so that we kepe sure vnto the end the begynninge of the substance; vii, 24, hath an everlasting presthood; ix, 21, all the ministrynge vessels; xii, 1, let us run unto the battayle that is set before us; followed in Coverdale, the great Bible, and the Bishops'. The earlier editions of the Authorized Version have "unto the race"; the present reading, "run the race," appeared first in the Genevan.[1] 1 Peter ii, 1, the Vulgate is followed closely; Rev. xviii, 14, and the apples that thy soll lusted after; xxii, 2, was there the wode of lyfe. Though Erasmus adopted in Rev. xii, 1, the reading "burning"[2] in their forehead, in the first, second, and third editions, Tyndale did not adopt it, but chose the Vulgate.[3]

One characteristic defect of the version is its continuous omission of the connecting Greek particles. The δέ is very often neglected, and even γάρ and καί are also frequently passed over. Thus δέ is omitted throughout the genealogy in the first chapter of Matthew, οὖν is omitted in verse 17, γάρ in verse 18, and δέ in verses 20, 21, 22, 23. In the second chapter γάρ is neglected in verse 2, and of the omission of δέ it supplies similar examples. δέ is omitted five times in Matthew iii, verse 3, in 4 twice, and in 10, 15; γάρ is omitted in verse 2 and 3;

[1] Beza "stadium decurramus." [2] Καιόμενον. [3] Scriptum.

has no place in verse 11. Indeed every chapter of the New Testament is marked by this uniform neglect.

Occasionally in the version, as might be expected in such an adventurous and untried attempt, there are incorrect renderings. The following are samples:—

Matthew i, 18, hys mother Mary was maryed to Joseph; 19, Joseph being a perfect man; ii, 12, in their slepe, and also in 22;[1] 21, sought the chyldes deeth; xiii, 8, some fifty-fold; 19, the evyll man; xix, 28, in the second generacion; xxi, 43, geven to the gentyles.

Mark iv, 8, forty-fold; 21, under a busshel, or vnder the borde.

Luke i, 3, the goode Theophilus.

John i, 1, God was that worde; v, 2, by the slaughter housse a pole.

Acts xiii, 42, bitwene the saboth dayes; xvii, 18, a tydynges brynger off newe devyls; xix, 37, robbers off churches; xx, 21, faith tawarde our lorde Jesu; xxvii, 9, alsoo that we had overlonge fasted; xxviii, 28, consolacioun of God.

Romans xii, 19, give roume unto the wrath of God.

1 Corinthians xiv, 29, two atonce, or thre atonce.

Galatians iv, 5, we thorowe eleccion; 9, the weake and bedgarly cerimones; 25, and bordreth apon the citie; v, 5, iustified by the sprete which commeth of fayth.

Ephesians i, 4, chosen us in him throwe love; iv, 18, blindness of their hertes (after Luther and the Vulgate); v, 19, spirituall songes which have favour with them.

Philippians ii, 8, was found in his aparell as a man; iii, 2, Beware of dissencion—"the concision."

Colossians ii, 18, in the humbleness of angels; among the "errours" at the end of the volume it is said, "rede humblenes and holynes of angels"; 23, chosen holynes and humblenes (Luther misunderstood).

1 Thessalonians v, 22, abstayne from all suspicious thynge.

2 Thessalonians i, 10, beleved even the same day that we preched it.

1 Timothy iii, 2, honestly aparelled; 6, "a yonge man,'

[1] Tyndale omits in somnis, v. 19.

instead of "a novice;" v, 4, to ruele their owne houses godly.

2 Timothy iv, 1, at his appearing in his kingdom—different both from Luther and the Vulgate.

Titus ii, 3, that they be in soche rayment as be commeth holynes.

1 John v, 21, Babes kepe yourselves from ymages.

Hebrews vi, 11, the encreace of the fayth; vii, 20, And for this cause itt is a better hope, that it was not promysed without an othe; vii, 24, an everlastynge presthode; ix, 1, iustifynges and servynges off God and worldly holynes; xi, 3, That by the means of thynges whych apeare, thynges whych are invisyble myghte be knowen; xii, 7, God offereth him selfe unto you as unto sonnes; xii, 11, no manner learnynge seemeth to be ioyeous.

James i, 27, visit the frendlesse; iii, 7, are meked and tamed.

Revelation vi, 8, beholde a grene horse; vii, 14, made their garmentes large and made them whyte; xii, 6, M and xxvj is evidently a misprint, and the number is given correctly in xi, 3. In Rev. iv, 6, &c., there was admitted the unfortunate "bestes" which has survived through all revisions.

Tyndale, ever anxious to give the sense, did not scruple to fill up what he regarded as an ellipse; and he has paraphrases which, as they interpret rather than translate, weaken the sense and blunt the incisiveness of his style. Interpolations are sometimes introduced.

Matthew iii, 8, belongynge to repentaunce; vii, 6, and the other turn again; viii, 4, commaunded to be offred; 26, endewed with lytell faithe; xii, 20, flaxe that begynneth to burne; 46, stode without the dores; xxiii, 15, to brynge one in to your belefe, (to make one proselyte).

Mark i, 24, that holy man promysed of god; xii, 36, David hym silfe inspyred with the holy goost sayd.

Luke xv, 2, He receaveth to his company synners; xxiv, 47, the begynnynge must be at Jerusalem.

John i, 14, And that worde was made flesshe; iii, 5, boren of water and of the sprete (the preposition not being repeated, and there being no article to either noun); xix, 14, Hitt was

the saboth even which falleth in the ester fest; ix, 3, nor yet his father and mother.

Acts vii, 60, For they wote not what they do; viii, 27, a man of etheopia which was gelded; ix, 28, had his conversacion with them att Jerusalem; x, 1, a captaine of the soudyers of Ytaly; 14, God forbyd, lorde; 18, And he called out won, and axed whether Simon, which was also called Peter, were lodged there; xvi, 16, her master and mastres (and so in the second edition, in Coverdale, and in the Great Bible—the correction being made in the Genevan); xvii, 11, these were the noblest among them off Thessalonia; in the Great Bible, "noblest of birth."

Romans i, 4, sence the tyme that Jesus Christ oure Lorde rose againe; ii, 18, and hast experience of good and bad; v, 5, be cause the love that God hath vnto us is sheed; vi, 19, I wyll speake grossly; vii, 6, in an newe conversacion of the sprete; viii, 23, and loke for the deliveraunce of oure bodies; 26, gronynges which cannot be expressed with tonge; x, 3, rightwesnes which is of value before God; xii, 11, let not that busynes which ye have in honde be tedious to you; xiii, 11, I mean the season how that it is tyme; xiv, 1, nott in disputynge and troublynge his conscience; xiv, 20, Destroye not the work off God for a lytell meates sake.

1 Corinthians i, 12, I holde of Paul.

2 Corinthians v, 21, thatt we by his meanes shoulde be that rightwesnes which before God is alowed; xii, 7, there was geven unto me of God vnquyetnes of the flesshe.

Ephesians i, 17, and open to you the knowledge of hym silfe; iv, 12, that the sainctes might have all thynges necessary to work and minister with all.

1 Thessalonians ii, 10, that noman coulde blame us; 2 Thess. ii, 14, "the glory that commeth of oure Lorde Jesu Christ."

1 Timothy vi, 5, superfluous disputynges in scolus (schools); 6, Godlines is great ryches, yf a man be content with that he hath.

Titus i, 7, a bisshoppe must be soche as no man can complayne on; iii, 14, goode workes as farforth as nede requyreth.

1 John iv, 1, whether they be of God or no.

1 Peter i, 13, the grace that is brought vnto you in that Jesus Christ is opened; iv, 11, Yf eny man speake let him talke as thoughe he speake the wordes of God.

2 Peter ii, 16, The tame and dom beast.

Hebrews vi, 1, the doctryne. pertaynynge to the begynnynge of a Christen man; xi, 19, as an ensample of the resurrection; xi, 31, receaved the spyes to lodgynge peasably; xii, 16, solde his right that belonged unto him in that he was the eldest brother.

James i, 17, with whom is no variablenes, nether is he chaunged vnto darknes; v, 17, Helias was a man in daunger to tribulacion, as we are (in the edition of 1534, "mortal even as we are"); "under infirmities as we are," Great Bible.

Revelation xvii, 3, I sawe a woman sytt apon a rose colored best.

Tyndale has sometimes a peculiar homeliness, as when he uses familiar terms, and especially those of the English Kalendar, or of ecclesiastical nomenclature.

Matthew xxvi, 2, ye knowe that after two dayes shalbe ester; 30, And when they had sayd grace; xxvii, 62, the next daye that foloweth good frydaye.

1 Corinthians xvi, 8, I will tarry att Ephesus vntill Witsontyde.

Revelation i, 10, I was in the sprete on a sondaye.

This translation of Matthew xxvii, 41, "Likewise also the prelates mocking him," looks like a side-glance at home, but was changed in his next revised edition. Acts xiii, 15, after the lecture (reading of the law), . . . if ye have eny sermone to exhort the people, say on; Acts xiv, 13, "brought oxen and garlondes vnto the churche porche"; 1 Peter v, 3, lordes over the parisshes.

There occur other quaint terms. Acts xvi, 35, the officers sent the ministers sayinge, lett theose men goo; xvii, 34, Dionisius a senatour; Hebrews xii, 16, which for one breakfast solde his right; 1 Timothy iii, 16, without nay great is that mystery of godliness; Mark xii, 2, he sent to the tennauntes a servaunt; Luke xx, 9, lett it forth to fermers; Luke vi, 29,

him that taketh awaye thy goune; 1 Peter i, 5, unto helth, which health is prepared; Luke xvi, 6, Take thy bill.[1]

But there are also remarkably good renderings which have not been preserved.

Matt. xiii, 19, 20, 22, he that was sown.

Mark i, 19, dressynge their nettes; ii, 22, olde vesselles; vi, 14, therfore myracles worke in hym.

Luke ii, 52, increased in wisdom and age; vii, 28, lesse in the kyngdom of God; xvi, 21, to be refresshed with the cromes; xxii, 44, droppes of blood tricklynge doune to the grounde.

John ii, 3, when the wyne fayled; iii, 3, except that a man be boren a newe; viii, 4, even as the dede was a doing.

Acts ii, 23, by the hondes of vnrightewes persones.

1 Thessalonians iv, 14, them also which slepe by Jesus, and so in Coverdale—"in Jesus" being introduced by the Genevan.

2 Thessalonians ii, 8, shalle destroye with the aparence of his commynge.

1 Timothy ii, 8, I will therefore that the men praye, the article being wrongly dropped in Coverdale, and in the Authorized Version—"the men," in contrast with "the women."

Hebrews xi, 13, the promises . . . and saluted them—"embraced them" in the Authorized Version.

Many of Tyndale's translations are very happy, and even where they are not exact they are specimens of pithy, idiomatic English. Indeed, the whole version is perspicuous and easily understood, few of its words are obsolete or uncommon—not more perhaps than ten in every hundred verses; probably in all considerably under four hundred. Many of his words and phrases have been preserved, but many have been toned down, the rich colouring having been bleached out of them, and others have passed away in the subsequent revisions.

Matthew iv, 10, avoyd Satan; 24, divers diseases and gripinges; vi, 7, bable not moche; viii, 18, to go over the water;

[1] Wycliffe in verse 6 has "obligacioun" in the first version, but "caucion" in the second after the Vulgate; but both have "lettris" in verse 7, also after the Vulgate. The Rheims version follows Tyndale, while the Genevan employs "writing" in both verses.

x, 9, nor brasse yn youre gerdels; xiii, 27, goode seede in thy closse; 33, hyd in thre peckes off meele; 52, every scrybe which is cominge vnto the kyngdom of heven; xiv, 14, his herte dyde melt vppon them; 20, gaddered vp of the gobbetes; xv, 27, the whelppes eate of the crommes; xvii, 17, O generacioun, faythles and croked; 27, thou shalt fynd a piece of twelve pens; xxi, 24, if ye asoyle me; xxiv, 12, iniquite shall have the vpper honde; xxv, 43, I was herbroulesse; xxvi, 17, to eate the ester lambe; xxvii, 3, thirty plattes off sylver; 11, and the debite axed him.

Mark v, 13, the heerd starteled; 35, why diseasest thou the master; vi, 27, sent the hangman; 36, go in to the tonnes and bye them breed; 40, sat doune here arowe and there arowe; 53, and drue up vnto the haven; vii, 4, wasshinge of cuppes and cruses; viii, 19, howe many baskettes of the levinges of broken meate toke ye up? 29, thou arte very Christ; xiv, 51, cloothed in linnen apon the bare; 65, arede vnto vs; 66, won off the wenches off the hyest preste.

Luke ii, 3, his awne shyre toune; vi, 4, halowed breed; vii, 2, the servaunt... whom he made moche of; viii, 42, she laye a dyinge; x, 34, brought hym to a commen hostry; xi, 46, yourselves touche not the packes; xiv, 18, I have bought a ferme; xv, 8, what woman havynge ten grotes; 16, filled his bely with the coddes that the swyne ate;[1] xxii, 1, the feaste of swete bread drue nye, whych is called ester.

John i, 30, for he was yer then I; ii, 7, fylled them vp to the harde brym; ix, 18, the iewes did not beleve off the felowe; xviii, 3, with lanterns and fyerbrondes; xix, 2, the soudiers wonde a croune of thornes.

Acts iv, 11, the stone cast a syde; xii, 18, there was not lytell a doo amonge the soudiers; xix, 12, napkyns or partlettes; xxi, 24, do cost on them; xxvii, 39, they spied a certayne reache with a banke; xxviii, 7, had a lordshippe.

Romans vii, 3, she couple her silfe with another; xiii, 7,

[1] He uses the phrase "fed her with shales and cods" in his Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount—shales meaning shells or husks. "Leaving them but the shales and husks of men": Shakespeare, Henry V, act iv, scene 2.

Geve to every man his duetie; xii, 2, but be ye chaunged in youre shape by the renuynge of your wittis.

1 Corinthians ii, 10, searcheth the bottom of goddes secretes; iv, 9, My thynketh that god hath showed us; v, 7, that ye maye be newe dowe as ye are swete breed; vi, 10, nether pillers shall inherit—still found in the word pillage; vii, 34, The single woman; ix, 13, have their fyndynge of the temple? 22, In all thynge I fassioned my silfe to all; xiv, 1, Labour for love.

2 Corinthians ii, 17, For we are not as many are, which choppe and chaunge[1] with the worde of god; x, 10, his speache whomly; xii, 16, Did I pill you? 20, lest there be founde amonge you lawynge.

Ephesians ii, 14, that was a stoppe bitwene vs; v, 19, playinge to the lorde.

Philippians i, 8, I longe after you all from the very herte rote in Jesus Christ; 23, I desyre to be lowsed, and to be with Christ.

Colossians ii, 1, as many as have not sene my parson in the flesshe; iii, 21, Fathers rate not your children.

1 Thessalonians iv, 15 and 16, we shall live . . . shall not come yerre they which sleep.

2 Thessalonians i, 3, every one of you swymmeth in love; ii, 6, might be vttered at his tyme,—that is, detected, as often in Tyndale's works, and also in Foxe, as denoting the act of an informer.

1 Timothy i, 2, Vnto Timothe hys naturall[2] sonne; ii, 9, lykwyse also the wemen that they arraye them selves in manerly aparell with shamfastness; iii, 2, harberous; iv, 7, cast awaye vngostly and olde wyves fables; v, 4, fyrst to ruele their owne houses godly; vi, 4, but wasteth his braynes about questions; vi, 20, avoyde vngostly vanities of voyces.

Titus ii, 5, chast, huswyfly, good.

[1] This phrase is used by him in the Parable of the Wicked Mammon.

[2] The epithet occurs in the "Pathway" to denote a child that has true natural affection—"who doeth out of pure love that he doeth." But the Greek adjective denotes genuine, Timothy being a true spiritual child.

2 Peter ii, 13, they make a mockyng stoke feastynge togedder.

1 John ii, 16, the prydde of gooddess.

Hebrews viii, 1, this is the pyth, x, 34, toke a worth the spolynge off youre goodes; xi, 12, of one, and of one which was as good as dead.

James i, 1, which are scattered here and there.

The translation, as a first and individual effort, is wonderful in many points of view. Tyndale had few appliances in the shape of grammars and lexicons;[1] but he devoted himself to his daily work with singular earnestness and assiduity. He often keeps the proper translation of the aorist, where succeeding translators have given it the sense of the perfect. The English is racy Saxon, and much of it, sometimes clause after clause, with no change save in spelling, is yet preserved in our common version. It has a noble unaffected simplicity, and the ring of genuine English idiom. It is more definite and concise than the current style of his day, and even of his own polemical writings. He may run that reads, and he that reads may understand, and the typical "ploughboy" may gather the sense so given in his own tongue. The eulogy of Fuller is not overdrawn: "What he undertook was to be admired as glorious; what he performed to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, is to be excused as pardonable, and to be scored on the account rather of that age, than of the author himself."[2]

There are, of course, numerous archaic forms, and the spelling also is very irregular, many of the proper names in the first chapter of Matthew not beginning with a capital letter, especially in the quarto, and, indeed, there is an utter want of uniformity in the spelling of the octavo also. We have, it, hit, hyt; of, and off; go, and goo; so, and soo; one, and woon; te, and the; other and wother; brydde, for bird; hoot coles; wholy goost, &c. *Y* is generally used for the more modern *i*, and *dd* for the more modern *th*. There occur also, whithersumever, rightwesness, leugh hym to scorn; rot, for rost; sheet, for shut; nowth for nought; fayght, for faith; littel wones; yerbis; axe, for ask. Syllables are separated that ought to be united, and

[1] See p. 141. [2] Church History of Britain, vol. II, p. 90.

united that should be kept apart; and even monosyllables are divided at the end of a line. Proper names sometimes begin with small letters, and common nouns with capitals, presenting such anomalies as these—"iewry and galile, and samary" (Acts ix, 31); Athens, Corinthum (1 Cor. xviii, 1); "better to Mary then to bourne" (1 Cor. vii, 9), "noo rotes; goo awaye." There is at the end of the volume a list of "errours comitted in the prentynge." The list contains seventy instances; some of them are mere misprints from the similarity of the angular letters, others are corrections, as then for them, had for hath, straythie for straightly. But some of the errors noted in the table do not exist, and others are not quoted correctly.

Tyndale's life had been an anticipation of Goethe's utterance, "lofty heights must be ascended by winding paths." The enterprise which he had purposed at Little Sodbury,[1] and which he had dreamed of carrying out in London, was commenced at Cologne, and being suddenly interrupted there, was brought to a successful conclusion at Worms. All difficulties had been at length surmounted, and the volumes on being finished at press, were at once safely and secretly despatched to England. The ships that brought the Testaments to this country are unknown, as well as the ports from which they sailed, and the ports at which they delivered their unsuspected cargo. Nor are we acquainted with the means first employed to convey the books from the vessels, and throw them into circulation. But the distribution, once begun, went on swiftly; "the little hidden leaven" soon began to leaven "the whole lump."

[1] Camden, referring to Tyndale's sojourn at Little Sodbury, quietly adds, "and here translated the New Testament." Britannia, vol. I, p. 276, ed. Gough, London, 1789.

CHAPTER X.

THE precious volumes may have arrived in England in the spring or early summer of 1526, and any more definite assertion is only conjecture, even though the reckoning were made by the Old Style, which carried the end of the year to the last week of March. Many statements on this debated point want precision. Foxe mentions vaguely that Garret brought Tyndale's New Testament to Oxford about the year of our Lord 1526; but forgetful of what he had stated, he affirms in another place, that Tyndale first translated the New Testament "for the profit of the simple vulgar people" about A.D. 1527.[1] Joye is as indeterminate as Foxe, for, referring, at the end of 1534 or beginning of 1535, to the octavo, he says: "Thou shalt know that Tyndale, about eight or nine years ago, translated and printed the New Testament, without calendar or concordances."[2] But the date assigned by Christopher Anderson, D'Aubigné, and others, either the close of 1525, or the very beginning of 1526, cannot be sustained, for the following reasons:—

First, There is no ground for doubting the testimony of Cochlæus who was himself present, and made minute personal inquiries. The insurrection of the peasants, which broke out in Swabia on the 19th of July, 1524, and had extended to Frankfort by the middle of 1525, had driven him, a dean of the "Church of the Blessed Virgin" in that city, first to Mentz, and then to Cologne, where he abode for a time in busy seclusion. Tyndale had also come to the same city in the summer of 1525, and as both he and the fugitive dignitary

[1] Vol. V, p. 421, p. 119. [2] Apologie, fol. civ.

were employing the same printers, Cochlæus incidentally made the discovery about the mysterious volumes at press. Now, that discovery, as he asserts, was made soon after the despatch of Luther's letter to King Henry VIII, and it was dated 1st September, 1525. The printing had therefore begun some time before that period,[1] and consequently it must have been far on in September, or in October, when Tyndale fled away with the sheets to Worms, to avoid the frustration of his labour. Though the utmost expedition possible at that early time had been used, several months must have been consumed in the printing of the octavo and the completing of the quarto. In all likelihood the books could scarcely be ready for exportation before March or April. Cochlæus affords yet another test. In his letter to James V of Scotland, dated 8th June, 1533, he boasts that, eight years before, he had interrupted the printing of the New Testament at Cologne, and thus points to the summer or autumn of 1525.

Second, The supposition that the New Testaments had arrived in January, 1526, does not allow sufficient time for the activity of Garret and other distributors. Garret must have been busy for a period in London, before he went down to Oxford, where he sold the books to "divers scholars," and "remained a while." But his industry had come to light; and search being made for him in the capital, his journey to Oxford was discovered, and measures were at once taken to arrest him in the University. This record of labour and travel on the part of Garret, and of information received and acted on by Wolsey and Tunstall, necessitates an interval of more than three weeks—all that Anderson's theory really allows. Besides, the volumes had been so long in Oxford, before the capture of Garret, that through the study of them there had been formed, prior to that event, "a tender and lately born little flock," so organized that its members called one another "brethren." These results could not have been produced in the single month of January; and it was in February that the search was instituted, though not in February, 1526.

Third, It was not till the metropolis had been explored in

[1] Sheets had been printed as far as the letter K. See page 129.

vain for Garret, that instructions were sent from Wolsey to seize him at Oxford. These orders were formally addressed, through Higden, Dean of Cardinal College, to Cottysford as commissary of the University, and he at once obeyed them. But Cottysford could not act as commissary or vice-chancellor in February, 1526, for he was not sworn into office till the 7th of December, 1527.[1] The commissary easily caught Garret, and confined him in his own chamber; but when he went out to "evensong," the prisoner "put back the bar of the lock with his finger" and escaped. He was, however, soon seized near Bristol, through the agency of a chapman of that city, the father-in-law of Cole the university proctor; and Cole had given secret notice to Garret and other friends of the intended search.

Fourth, Henry sent first a Latin letter in reply to that of Luther, which he had received on the 20th of March, 1526, "after which letter written and sent him, the king translated it into English, of an especial favour toward his subjects." In the preface to the English letter he refers to the New Testament as being in the country, and calls immediate attention to many corruptions of the holy text, as "certain prefaces and other pestilent glosses in the margin" of the quarto. The Latin epistle was, however, not despatched till late in the year, and on 30th November, 1526, Sir John Wallop apparently acknowledges to Wolsey the receipt of it—"two packets of Luther's matters."[2] Immediately on its translation the English letter was printed by R. Pynson,—finished on the 2nd December, 1526.[3] The king's criticism of the New Testament, and the avowal of his purpose that, on consultation with Wolsey, and other reverend fathers of the spiritualty, "the said untrue translation should be burned," imply that the Testaments had come somewhat recently into the country, and that they had been widely dispersed.

Fifth, Anderson's argument implies the extraordinary supposition, that King Henry answered Luther's epistle on the

[1] Le Neve's Fasti, vol. III, p. 475, ed. Duffus Hardy.

[2] State Papers, vol. I, p. 173.

[3] A copy of this letter is in the Bodleian Library, and it is also printed in Herbert's Ames, p. 297.

very day on which he received it; for in allusion to Luther's letter, and the day of its reception, he exclaims, "Here, then, was Tyndale's quarto New Testament with glosses denounced as early as 20th March, 1526." The history of the royal letter, given in the previous sentences, disposes at once of the conjecture. Nor could the New Testaments be burned, as he asserts, on the 11th of February, 1526, for the reason already given, that they could not by that time have reached the English shores, and still less could Garret have received them, and begun to distribute them so early as January. Tyndale, in his "Obedience of a Christian Man," and in a personal attack on Bishop Fisher whose sermon he is reviewing, says, for the sake of "a like argument, Rochester and his holy brethren have burned Christ's testament." But does Tyndale here mean by "Christ's testament" his own translation? Does he ever call it by such a name? The word "testament" does not occur at all in the epilogue to the octavo, though in the prologue to the quarto he often mentions the "New Testament." [1]

Sixth, The authorities being roused by reports of New Testaments in individual and domestic use, resolved upon a vigorous and simultaneous search after the terrible book in the capital and in the universities. Anderson, and those who accept his premises, lay no small stress on this process as a proof of the early advent of the version, and date it in February, 1526, when the volumes could not by any possibility have arrived. Such inquisitorial and stealthy work certainly shows that the books had been for some considerable time in circulation; but the search dated by Anderson in 1526 could not have taken place at Oxford at that time: for, 1st, as has been shown in a previous paragraph, Dr. Cottysford, rector of Lincoln College, who was concerned in the transaction, and who acted under instructions sent from Wolsey to him as commissary or vice-chancellor of Oxford, was not officially installed till the 7th of December, 1527. 2nd, Dr. London, warden of New College, in writing to Longland, Bishop of

[1] Anderson gets point to his interpretation by printing the clause thus,—*have burned* Christ's *Testament.*

Lincoln, as Oxford then belonged to that diocese, intimated that the commissary had revealed "the matter" of Garret's arrest and escape to him, "on this Monday the vigil of St. Matthias." But in 1526, St. Matthias day fell on a Saturday, its vigil therefore being on the previous Friday, while in 1528 it fell on a Tuesday, so that its vigil was on the day indicated—a Monday. 3rd, in another letter written two days later, that is, on the 26th of February, Dr. London asserts that "this unhappy Mr. Garret had been at Oxford last Easter distributing books," and adds, "I fear Mr. Clark was his caller to Oxford." Now, to one writing in February, "last Easter" must be Easter of the previous year, or, in Anderson's baseless opinion, that of 1525. But the chronology breaks down at once, for Clark[1] himself was not incorporated at Oxford till October 5th, 1525, and could not therefore some months before have invited Garret to the university. The Easter referred to must therefore have been that beginning on April 21st, 1527. 4th, Bishop Longland, in conveying the information about Garret to Wolsey, writes on "Ash Wednesday," which in 1526 was the 14th of February, or before St. Matthias day, that is really before the date of the letter, in consequence of the receipt of which he was sending his epistle; but in 1528, Ash Wednesday happened two days after St. Matthias day,[2] or on February 26th or 27th. 5th, Dalaber, indeed, in his interesting and touching story of Garret's capture, dates the occurrence in 1526 or thereabouts. But he wrote from memory more than thirty years afterwards, in 1562, and he corrects his own mistake when he thus notes the period, "Master Ball, of Merton College, and Master Cole, of Magdalene College, being proctors in the month of February." Now Ball became proctor only on the 10th of April, and therefore could not have acted in the preceding February; and as

[1] Clark was one of those students imprisoned in the cellar under Cardinal College, and he died shortly afterwards.

[2] St. Matthias day falls on the 24th of February, but in leap year on the 25th; and it is still observed on that day in the Church of Rome. The discussion as to the proper day of its observance in leap year, and its connection with the old Julian year, may be seen in Wheatley's "Common Prayer," p. 248, Bohn's edition, and also in Demaus and Arber.

Cole became proctor on the 7th of May, 1527, and held the appointment till April, 1528, he was senior proctor at the time when the seizure of Garret created such academic sensation.[1] 6th, Tyndale himself verifies the same conclusion in the words employed by him in his "Preface to the Parable of the Wicked Mammon," printed by Hans Luft at Marburg. He intimates in reference to Roye, "I could not do alone, without one both to write and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was done, I took my leave of him for our two lives." Roye accordingly did not linger after being so summarily shaken off, but left at once. In this book, the printing of which was finished 8th May, 1528, Tyndale goes on to speak of a visit of Jerome, "a brother of Greenwich also," as taking place "a year after," that is a year after Roye's departure, and "now twelve months before the printing of this work." The translator himself thus clearly places Roye's dismissal and the completion of the New Testament about April or May, 1526. Foxe gives the date of the "Wicked Mammon" in his reprint of Tyndale's Works as 1527, and he has been followed by Tanner, Lewis, Wood, and Walter. But the colophon of the book itself has the date 1528; and Anderson, whose chronology is so sadly disturbed by this fact, imagines that there must have been a first edition issued at Worms, somewhat strangely, in the very same month and day of the previous year. Lastly, other evidence from the episcopal registers on this point seems also conclusive. It is true that John Pykas, a baker of Colchester, whose witness has already been cited on another point, confessed before Tunstall on the 7th of March, 1528, that "about two years last past, he bought of a Lombard of London a New Testament, and paid for it four shillings, which New Testament he kept, and read through many times." But as he does not say

[1] Anthony Dalaber himself communicated the first part of the story to Foxe, but it was left unfinished by his death in 1562, the martyrologist gathering "the residue from ancient and credible persons." Garret, on being condemned, abjured, and bore his faggot along with others, a great fire being made on the top of Carfax, and each of the accused persons as he passed it threw a book into the flames. Garret suffered bravely some years afterwards.

two years and more, he probably means within the period, and his mental calculation may have been somewhat confused, for he was under examination by a stern and powerful judge. But though the term "about" gives vagueness to his calculation, it does not contradict our arguments. The confession of Tyball also leads back to an early part of 1526, and that of Munmouth is similar. Necton, on examination in 1528, deponed that "about a yere and a half agon, he fell in acquaintance with Vicar Constantine here in London. Which showed this respondent first, that the said Mr. Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; and caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments of Mr. Fyshe."[1] All these lines of proof seem to determine that the time when the volumes arrived in England was in the early part of the summer of 1526.

The circulation was carried on by hidden and unexpected agencies, and Testaments were freely disposed of in most unlikely places. Prior Barnes, who on Christmas eve, 24th December, 1525, had from the pulpit of St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, inveighed against Wolsey's "golden shoes, pole axes, pillars, golden cushions, crosses, and red gloves," was seized, brought to London, and "by persuasions mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh," he had been induced to recant. On the 11th February, 1526, he was led out to do penance in presence of the "Cardinal, clothed in purple like a bloody antichrist, with six and thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops." Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached, and great basketfuls of books, not called English Testaments "were standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the Rood of Northen, there to be burned."[2] Wolsey might, in Tyndale's phrase, be "the falsest and vainest cardinal that ever was," despotic and cruel as a ruler, and unscrupulous as a diplomatist, plotting with all craft and assiduity for the occupancy of St. Peter's chair, and he might be concerned in the burning of books, but he never burned human beings. He said, indeed, to Barnes, "Abjure or be burnt," and the friar

[1] The depositions are given in Strype's Memorials, vol. I, p. 113, ed. Oxford, 1822.

[2] Foxe, vol. V, p. 418.

accepted the first alternative. Whatever hand he might have in sending to the block the Duke of Buckingham, High Constable of England, and a descendant of Edward III, he did not of his own act doom any one to the flames for difference of religious opinion. The stake resumed its fatal prominence under his philosophic successor, Sir Thomas More. If we are to believe the articles of impeachment, Wolsey's private character was not immaculate, and his celibacy was only in name. He was so absorbed in foreign politics, that affairs at home became only of secondary interest to him. The Reformation which he coveted, or which would have been sanctioned by Sir Thomas More, his friends, and his coadjutors, would have been superficial at best—the sewing of a piece of new cloth on the old garment.

Barnes, on his recantation, had been sent to the Fleet, but was afterwards made a prisoner at large in the Augustine Monastery in London, and in this retreat he carried on the forbidden work of trafficking in New Testaments—was a resetter and seller of this perilous contraband. Thus John Tyball of Steeple Bumstead, to whom previous allusion has been made, deponed on April 28th, 1528, "That at Mychaelmasse last past was twelve monethe this respondent and Thomas Hilles came to London to Frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines (Austin Friars) in London, to buy a New Testament in English. . . . That the sayd Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewyd the Freer Barons of certayne old bookes that they had; as of four Evangelists, and certayne epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe (that is of the Wycliffite version). Which bookes the sayd Frear dyd little regard, and made a twyte of it, and sayd, a poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe; for it is of more cleaner Englishe. And then the sayd Frear Barons delyvered to them the sayd New Testament in Englishe; for which they payd three shillings and two pence, and desyred them, that they wold kepe it close. And after the delyverance of the sayd New Testament to them, the Frear Barons dyd lyken the New Testament in Latin to a cymball tynnklyng and brasse sownd-

yng," expressions in perfect keeping with his usual speech.[1]

Portions of Necton's confession reveal the ingen and resolution of the "New Testamenters." He depo that "he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir Willia Furboshare, synging man, in Stowmarket, in Suffolk, for seven or eight grotes a pece. Also, two of the same New Testaments in Bury St. Edmonds; that is to say, to Raynold Wodelesse, one; and Thomas Horfan, another, for the same price.

"Furthermore, Vicar Constantine, at dyvers tymes, had of this respondent about fifteen or sixteen of the New Testaments of the biggest. And this respondent saith, that the sayd Vicar Constantine dyvers tymes bowght of him certayne of the sayd New Testaments. Also, he sold Sir Richard Bayfell two New Testaments unbound, about Cristmas last; for the which he paid three shillings and four pence. . . . That he sold five or six of the said New Testaments to diverse persons of the cite of London, whose namys or dwellyng places he doth not remember. . . . That since Easter last, he bowght of Geffray (Lolme) Usher of Saynt Antonyes, with whom he hath byn aqueynted by the space of an yere, or thereabout (by reason he was Mr. Forman, the person of Hony Lane his servant, and for that this respondent did moche resort to the said persons sermons) eighteen New Testaments in English of the smal volume. . . . That about Cristmas last, there came a Duche man, beyng now in the Flete, which wold have sold this respondent two or three hundreth of the said New Testaments in English, which this respondent did not buy; but sent him to Mr. Fyshe to buy them; and said to the Duche man, 'Looke what Mr. Fyshe doth, I wil do the same."[2] Of course, many persons engaged in the work of distribution, managed to keep themselves out of sight and escaped detection, as they moved in secret "paths which the vulture's eye had not seen."

Simon Fyshe, of Gray's Inn, and George Harman, of Antwerp, had a busy hand in the labour. The former of

[1] Strype's Memorials, pt. II, p. 54. [2] Strype's Memorials, pt. II, p. 63.

[redacted]alous men had issued a tract, called "the Supplicacion [redacted]e Beggars,"[1] addressed to the king. It was a small [redacted]t of eight pages, and was given to his Majesty, and [redacted]attered on Candlemas day through the streets; and its burden was a disclosure of the reasons "why the Monks and Friars, Pardoners and Sumners, will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother-tongue." The excitement was growing, and the enemies and friends of an English translation were fast fronting each other, and taking up a decided position. But the wood was yet growing green in the fields that was again to supply faggots for the fires of Smithfield.

[1] The year is uncertain, but it was issued in the earlier portion of that year, as the Tract of Fyshe is said to have published "*of late.*" More's reply, the "Supplicacion of Souls," was written before he was Lord Chancellor, or before October, 1529; perhaps, therefore,

CHAPTER XI.

AS the importation of the New Testament was a clandestine and dangerous traffic, there is no distinct record of it. The common people received it gladly; but it encountered fierce opposition from men in authority, clergy, statesmen, lawyers, and scholars. It was deemed an exponent and defence of Lutheranism, and, therefore, was spurned away. Many were scared out of their reason by it, as if there had lighted among them a shell charged with explosive missiles. We cannot tell in what way the authorities were first made aware of the audacious presence of the Book in the midst of them; but the distribution could not be long hidden from the keen and sharp eyes of suspicious ecclesiastics. Our only information on the point is from the "railing rhymes" of Friar Roye, with whom the translator had been so displeased. The satire reveals that Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph's,[1] who "played the part of Judas," was the first who brought the report to Wolsey, "the man in the redde cappe," who spake the words of Pilate and answered that he found "no fault" therein. Tunstall (Caiaphas) and the other bishops overruled the Cardinal to an adverse decision, so that he gave judgment against the hated translation, and ordered that it should be burned wherever it was found. This reluctance ascribed to Wolsey may apparently be believed. The forty-third article in the long list of charges presented against him at his fall, alleges that the said Lord Cardinal hath been the "impeacher and

[1] The name of his diocese was often contracted into St. Asse; and Erasmus, whom he stigmatized as Græculus iste, calls him episcopus a sancto Asino.

[redacted]r of due and direct correction of heresies." When [redacted]ran opinions had been growing at Cambridge, and a [redacted]ation of the University was demanded in 1523 by some [redacted] the bishops, Wolsey expressly inhibited it, though Bishop Longland who was the king's confessor, had urged him to a decided prosecution of "heretics and destruction of Lutheran books." When he had selected for his magnificent foundation of Christ Church a few students from Cambridge, he did not cancel their appointment, though some of them were suspected of Lutheran leanings. When Latimer was brought before him at York House, and had given an account of a sermon which had offended the Bishop of Ely, Wolsey said to him, "You shall have my license, and shall preach it unto his beard let him say what he will." Wolsey's license sufficed for all England. To the king's chagrin, he openly disagreed with many parts of his book against Luther—the book that gained him the title of Defender of the Faith. He had refused to act on a papal bull of June 19, 1520, because he had no power to burn Lutheran books; and the Pope, in reply, told him, that not the books but the authors should be burned. For his great educational deeds and designs, he had suppressed forty-two religious houses. Indeed, he had contrived to gather in to himself, against all law, extraordinary revenues. For not only was he Archbishop of York, in succession to Cardinal Bainbridge; but the "king-cardinal" drew at the same time the incomes of the dioceses of Durham and Winchester, farmed the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, and held the Abbey of St. Alban's *in commendam*. He had also an annuity from the French king of 12,000 livres, and from the Pope and the Emperor a yearly pension of 7,500 ducats. The first began to be paid him in 1518, and the second in 1526. "Unsatisfied in getting which was a sin, yet in bestowing he was most princely." In obtaining academic funds from the dissolution of religious houses, Wolsey had been preceded by Chichele and Waynflete. But his arrogance had grown apace. Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, records,[1] that when he came to England, Wolsey was accustomed to

[1] Despatches, vol. II, p. 314.

say, "The king will do so and so;" afterwards his [redacted] were, "We will do so and so;" and finally, "I shall [redacted] and so."

Tunstall, soon after the consultation referred to, preached at St. Paul's, and denounced the New Testament as containing two thousand errors;[1] Tyndale's simple reply being, "They have now so narrowly looked on my translation, that there is not so much as one i therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for an heresy." The volume so denounced was then publicly thrown into the fire, and the burning of it was known at Rome by the 21st of November. At that date Cardinal Campeggio wrote to Wolsey a letter of congratulation: "We lately heard, to his Majesty's great praise and glory, that he had most justly caused to be burned a copy of the Holy Bible which had been mistranslated into the common tongue. . . . Assuredly, no burnt offering could be more pleasing to Almighty God."[2] On Wednesday, 24th October, Tunstall, "by the duty of our pastoral office," issued a prohibition, a copy of which was sent to the four Archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and London. The prohibition somewhat bluntly aims at "many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, that have craftily translated the New Testament into our English tongue . . . of which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that most deadly and most pernicious poison dispersed through all our diocese of London in great numbers."[3] Within thirty days these books were to be delivered up to his vicar-general, Geoffrey Wharton, under penalty of excommunication and incurring the suspicion of heresy. Eleven days afterwards, on the 3rd November, Archbishop Warham issued a mandate, in similar terms, to

[1] Lambert, who was burned in 1538, in reply to the twenty-sixth article of his indictment, which questioned him about "scriptures in the mother language," says, among other things, that he heard Tunstall's sermon "on the 'hideous errors' in it that I, and not only I, but likewise many others, think verily to be none." Foxe, vol. V, p. 213.

[2] Cotton MSS., Vitellius, B. viii, 164.

[3] Foxe, vol. IV, p. 666.

[redacted], Bishop of Exeter, the document being meant for [redacted]ntire province.[1] The translator was at this time un[redacted]wn, for the version was published anonymously; but [redacted]rly next year Tyndale's connection with it was no secret, as may be seen in Ridley's letter, on page 126. Warham also bought up a good many copies of both editions at an expense of nearly a thousand pounds sterling; and doubtless such copies were speedily and effectually destroyed. To defray the cost of these large purchases, the Primate sent a circular to his suffragans, asking pecuniary contributions. Bishop Nikke[2] of Norwich, in reply, promises, in a letter of 14th June, 1527, to send ten marks, about £100 in present currency, and nearly a tenth part of the whole outlay. Some of the blind old bishop's words may be quoted: "In right humble manner I commend me unto your good lordship, doing the same to understand that I lately received your letters, dated, at your manor of Lambeth, the 26th day of the month of May, by which I do perceive that your Grace hath lately gotten into your hands all the books of the New Testament translated into English and printed beyond the sea,—as well those with the glosses joined unto them as the other without the glosses . . . Surely, in mine opinion, you have done them a gracious and blessed deed, and God, I doubt not, shall highly reward you therefor . . .—your humble obediencer and bondsman."[3]

The circulation of such a novelty as an English New Testament created a demand, and that demand was speedily supplied. The press which Tyndale himself had employed was at rest, but the work was done by other printers. By the end of 1526 a third edition of the New Testament, in small volume, was issued at Antwerp by Christopher of Endhoven, who was arrested in consequence of his adventure. There had been, in 1527, an alarming scarcity of corn in England "on account of the great rain which fell in the sowing-time," and in the crisis "the gentle merchants of the Stilyard" brought in provisions from abroad, "so that wheat was better

[1] Wilkin's Concilia, vol. III, p. 706.

[2] Often, or usually, spelled Nix.

[3] Cotton MSS., Vitellius, B. ix, fol. 117, b., British Museum.

cheap in the capital than in England all over."[1] But a[redacted] was another and contemporaneous famine in the land, [redacted] vessels carried also a more precious cargo than "the bi[redacted] which perisheth."

About the end of 1527, or beginning of 1528, the agency by which the circulation had been so successfully carried out was at last detected. Bilney had been examined at the end of the year, and probably hints incautiously dropped by some witnesses during the trial may have led to the discovery. Arrests were made in London. The University of Oxford was searched and Wolsey's own college, St. Frideswide's or Cardinal College, was found to be deeply infected. Several students escaped, and others were incarcerated in a deep cell under the college, used for storing salt fish, and some of them died from the effects of this unhealthy imprisonment and food. Nor was Bishop Tunstall idle after his return from Spain, and many people guilty of possessing an English Bible were carried before him. "Old Father Hacket, being hard set upon, made a discovery of a great many of his friends and followers," to the number of forty, who "dwelt chiefly in London;"[2] and other criminated persons, being entangled in the queries put to them, gave information in spite of themselves. Another class in terror revealed everything, and at once brought friends and relatives into immediate peril. Sebastian Harris, curate of the parish church of Kensington, was brought up, and confessed that "he had the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hochen, priest, and friar Roye." He was sentenced not to approach the city for four years nearer than two miles. Rodolph Bradford, fellow of King's College, Cambridge, carried New Testaments to Reading, "with a godly desire to disperse them," and he was afterwards imprisoned for two years as the penalty of his work.[3] Forman, rector of All Hallows, Honey Lane (Garret being his curate), and Jeffray Lolme, usher in St. Anthony's School, were trusted and successful agents in the secret and dangerous toil of sowing the divine seed — "the word of God."

[1] Halle's Chronicle, p. 736, London, 1809.

[2] Strype, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 114.

[3] He died chaplain to Bishop Latimer.

[redacted]us persons were taken up for having, selling, or [redacted]g the printed English Testament. Tunstall and [redacted]rton his vicar-general, with their spies, had been very [redacted]xterous and successful, and the bishop wrote on the 15th March, 1528, to Wolsey, that he was obliged to commit a man to the Fleet, as his own prisons were so full.

But, as the New Testaments came from abroad, it was deemed advisable not only to check the torrent, but to arrest it at its source. Royal letters were accordingly sent to the Princess Margaret, the Emperor's representative in the Low Countries, to the Governor of the "English House" at Antwerp, and to Hacket also, the English envoy, urging and empowering him to get possession of the books. He came at once from Mechlin to Antwerp to do the work; but the task was one of great difficulty. He was "forward in the business, made no small diligence; . . . it is very necessary and time to be done, before the end of this Barrow[1] market. But the first beginning and execution must be done in the town of Antwerp, which is the fountain of such things, and herewith all other places will take an example. And if it has happened that your Grace had not received some other books of the translation, as I have sent you here before now, at all adventures, I send you this inclosed, one of such like as has been imprinted in the said town of Antwerp; of the which be arrested, in the Justice's hands nigh a three hundred abiding sentence."[2] Hacket's first demand was "that the imprimer of the said book, named Christopher of Endhoven, ought to be banished out of all the Emperor's lands and countries, and that the third part of all his goods should be confiscated in the Emperor's hands, and all the foresaid English books burnt in the fire, according to the Emperor's last mandment upon such like heresies." But the Lords of Antwerp, bound by their own laws and usages, would not interfere to inflict such a punishment, and Endhoven was released. Hacket next proposed to buy up the whole stock

[1] Bergen-op-Zoom.

[2] Letter from Mechlin to Brian Tuke, one of the king's secretaries, 4th January, 1527, Cotton MSS., Galba, B. ix, fol. 37.

of volumes, and despatch it to England, as those in possession of Endhoven could not be touched by law; but all that could be found in Antwerp or Barrow were collected and burned, as he informs Wolsey on the 20th of February, 1520—"three books" being specially referred to—and these are plainly three editions of Tyndale, copies of which had been sent to him from England for identification.

That there was an eager and incessant demand in England for the New Testament came to be well known, and the demand stimulated a growing supply, in spite of the hazards attending such merchandize. During Endhoven's arrest, as the envoy had hinted, an additional issue of the New Testament, "in a greater letter," was brought out by another printer in Antwerp, and copies of both editions were imported in the corn ships. Thus, in 1528, John Ruremond, a Dutchman, was abjured for "causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testament to be printed in Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred of them into England." According to George Joye, of both editions five thousand copies were printed; but the last edition had "no corrector of the press." Hacket writes in alarm to Wolsey, on the 23rd of May, "Some new printers of the town of Antwerp have brought to be sold to this Barrow market diverse English books, entitled the New Testament, . . . of which I have found twenty-four in one man's hand. . . . I trust shortly to see them burned. . . . I hear say that there has been at the last Frankfort market more than two thousand such like English books." The Envoy in his zeal had also visited Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and Louvain, and did what he could to collect and send to the fire the copies prepared for his native island. At length, as a more effectual remedy, it was resolved not only to watch and stop the presses on the Continent, but, if possible, to capture the translator himself, and his associates. Wolsey, in June, 1528, corresponded on the subject with Hacket, and asked that means should be taken to have five men (three[1] of them

[1] The three men were apparently Roye, Tyndale, and Harman. Rinck's letter to Wolsey mentions also Alexander Barclay, the translator and enlarger of Brandt's Navis Stultifera —the Ship of Fools.

especially) arrested, and that the Lady Mary, the regent, should be induced to send them to England for trial. The scheme failed; the law of the empire allowed the extradition of a traitor, but not of a heretic. Search, however, was made for the delinquents, and Harman only could be found. On the 14th of July, Hacket notified Wolsey of Harman's apprehension. It was a bold stroke on the part of a foreign power to imprison an English merchant. The petition of Harman for release in July, 1528, tells his story:—"Richard Harman, being in prison for having sold New Testaments to English merchants, having been sent to him out of Germany, does plead for himself, that he and his wife might be let out on sufficient bail, to recover his debts upon the breaking up of the fair." But he was not released till the 26th February, 1529. In the meantime, Wolsey was not to be baffled, and letters came from England charging Harman with treason; but the Princess and Council wished to know the special treason before they would act. Hacket hoped that Harman's "purse would suffer long penance," but he was soon alarmed at the report of Harman's declaration that his imprisonment had cost him 2,000 guilders, and that he confidently trusted to recover damages. Time passed on, and Harman, getting out of prison, had Hacket arrested by the Amant; but his privilege as ambassador was successfully pleaded, and he was allowed to depart to Brussels, and thus was happily out of Antwerp before Tyndale came to reside in it. Wolsey did not like to be defeated; Friar West of Greenwich was taken into the plot; and a special appeal, dated Hampton Court Palace, on the 5th of August, was made to Herman Rinck of Cologne. Rinck's answer, October, 1528, shows the sort of work expected of him, and he had pride and pleasure in doing it, his reply being: "With the utmost diligence I shall also take care as to the aforesaid Roye and Hutchin, . . . both as to apprehending them and observing what places they frequent." He had already said that they had not been seen at Frankfort since Easter, and the market after Lent, and it is not known whither they are gone, or whether they are alive or dead." But Tyndale's place of abode could not be discovered, for

he had left Worms and gone to Marburg. Rinck, however, adds that his industry had been to some extent rewarded: "I gained over the consuls at Frankfort by gifts and presents, so that I might scrape together and heap together . . . all the books from every quarter. But these books (unless I had found them out and interposed) would have been inclosed and concealed in paper, packed in ten bundles covered over with flax (or linen); they would in time, craftily and without suspicion, have been transmitted by sea into Scotland and England as to the same place, and would have been sold as merely clean paper; but I think that very few or none of those carried away have been discovered."[1] Scott, the printer of Strasburg, was arrested also; but the book which he had published was Roye's Satire, with which Tyndale had no connection. The clever satirist had, with the plausibility which Tyndale ascribes to him, talked the printer over to execute the work, though he had no funds to defray the expense.

At the Treaty of Cambray in 1529, when Tunstall, More, and Hacket were the English representatives, it was agreed that while mercantile traffic between the Low Countries and England was to continue, "no one was to print or sell any Lutheran books on either side." Tunstall came home by way of Antwerp, and his exploit there has been recorded by Halle, the old Chronicler: "Here it is to be remembered one Augustine Packington, a merchant and mercer of London, the same time was in Antwerp, where the bishop then was; and this Packington was a man who highly favoured Tyndale, but to the bishop shewed the contrary. The bishop, desirous to have his purpose brought to pass, communed of the New Testaments, and how gladly he would buy them. Packington, hearing him say so, said—'My Lord, if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter do more, I dare say, than most of the merchants of England that are here, for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure to pay for

[1] Cotton MSS., Vitellius, B. xxi, fol. 43, British Museum.

them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for them, I will then assure you to have every book of them that is here imprinted, and is here unsold.' The bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, when indeed he had, as after he thought, the devil by the fist, said, 'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross.' Augustine Packington came to William Tyndale and said, 'William, I know that thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast endangered thy friends and beggared thyself; and I have now gotten thee a merchant, which with ready money shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it profitable to yourself.' 'Who is the merchant?' said Tyndale. 'The Bishop of London,' said Packington. 'O, that is because he will burn them,' said Tyndale. 'Yea, marry,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder,' quoth Tyndale, 'for these two benefits shall come thereof—I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's Word; and the overplus of the money that shall remain with me shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you than ever did the first.' So forward went the bargain, the bishop had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money."[1] The sequel of the story is as amusing: "After this Tyndale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. . . The bishop sent for Packington again, and asked how the Testaments were still so abundant, and Packington replied, 'It will never be better so long as they have the letters and the stamps. Therefore it were better for your lordship to buy the stamps too.' In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then Chancellor

[1] The story is also told in Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vol. IV, p. 670.

of England, suspected of certain heresies. During the time that he was in the custody of Master More, after divers communications, amongst other things Master More asked of him, saying, 'Constantine,[1] I would have thee to be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will show thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you; I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money; and thou being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me who be they that help them thus?' 'My lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell thee truly; it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money, upon New Testaments, to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same, for so much I told the bishop before he went about it.'[2] The story is no doubt true in its essential features; but the implied simplicity of Tunstall can scarcely be accepted. Nor was the poverty of Tyndale so great as the anecdote supposes. He was poor in that he had no settled income, but his own personal expenditure was small, and he never wanted money for his work. Some kind friends must have invested large funds in his first enterprise. The six thousand copies of the two first editions of the New Testament

[1] In 1531, Constantine not only failed in courage before Sir Thomas More, but, in More's own words, "uttered and disclosed divers of his companions, . . . devised how these devilish books which himself and others of his fellows had bought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burnt. And, therefore, he showed me the shipman's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels by which I have since his escape received them." More's Works, p. 347, ed. 1557.

[2] Halle's Chronicle, p. 762. London, 1809. A brother of Packington, and one of the burgesses in Parliament for the city of London, as he was going out on a foggy morning to a neighbouring church to attend early service, was shot dead in the street. Incent, Dean of St. Paul's, confessed on his death-bed that he had "hired an Italian for sixty crowns or thereabouts to do the feat." Foxe, vol. V p. 250.

printed by him were sold for about two shillings a piece,[1] and must therefore have cost about six hundred pounds, representing nine thousand pound in present value. In Antwerp, at a later period, he went about bestowing charities on the poor and sick.

More was evidently perplexed to account for the great expense incurred in bringing so many New Testaments into the country, and in supporting abroad "a few ungracious folks that fled out of the realm . . . that nought had here and nought carried hence, and are yet sustained and supported with money. . . . Which books, albeit that they can neither be printed there without great cost, nor here sold without great adventure and peril, yet cease they not to print there, and send them hither by whole vats full at once. And in some places, looking for no price, cast them abroad by night; labour, travel cost, charge, and peril involved."[2] But he could not forbear a sneering allusion to such books, "of every sort of them, some be brought into this realme, and kept in hucker-mucker, by some shrewd masters, that kepe them for no good."[3] The Lord Chancellor did not realize the priceless value which many good people put upon the Gospels and Epistles in their native tongue, and he might have known that to many brave and enthusiastic spirits there was a strange fascination in the very peril involved in a work which, pure and blessed as it was, might load their limbs with iron, or send them to the stake. The first two editions had long since gone to England, and the books bought for the fire must have been the Dutch reprints. There is some probability that Tyndale about this period saw an edition through the press without revising it, but he seems to have put into it the epilogue to the Epistle to the Romans, which had been published separately, and to have sent copies to his younger

[1] Hilles deponed that he had sold a Testament for three shillings.

[2] Preface to Confutation.

[3] Hucker-mucker means clandestinely or in secret. Thus Philpot says—"I fear they will condemn me hugger-mugger." Letters 231, Parker ed. Hamlet, act 4, scene 5. See Wheatley's Dictionary of Reduplicated Words, *sub voce*, London, 1866.

brother John in London. Bayfield, whom Stokesley at his trial knocked down with his crozier, and who was ultimately burned at Newgate, was accused of having a copy of the New Testament containing a prologue to the Romans, and such a prologue does not seem to characterize the earlier Antwerp issues.

After Wolsey had bidden "a long farewell to all his greatness," and had been succeeded by Sir Thomas More, a fierce proclamation was issued at the end of the year 1529, by royal authority, against all heretical teachers, and against importers, sellers, authors, possessors, and distributors of heretical books. Among the twenty-four books mentioned, Tyndale's New Testament occupies the first place, a preeminence to which it was entitled for its own sake, though the terror of its enemies lifted it to such honour. All are invited to become spies, and give information. The ecclesiastics only had interfered up to this time; now the bishops and the civil authorities were allied as inquisitors.

But the printing of the New Testament was still going on as a matter of common trade; Jewish capital had been invested in it; sale and export were now matters of commercial calculation and profit, so that, apart from Tyndale's personal cognizance and supervision, three editions probably were printed at Antwerp in 1529 and 1530. The circulation of these Scriptures, in spite of all opposition, was widening in England, and Bishop Nikke, who had given so liberally for buying up copies at an earlier period, complained, in 1530, that the suppression of them was beyond his ability, and the confession was wrung from him, "it passeth my power, or any spiritual man, now to do it," one reason alleged by him being "that the people believe it to be the king's pleasure that the New Testament in English should go forth, and that men should have it and read it." He goes on to utter the melancholy misgiving, if "they," the readers of the New Testament in English, "continue any time, they shall undo us all. . . . I hear of no clerk that hath come out lately of that College (Gonville and Caius), but savoureth of the frying

pan,[1] though he speak never so holily."[2] The phrase first employed in one clause of the doleful letter had been "the saide boks," but it was erased and the more special words inserted, "the New Testamente in inglesshe," for it, the record of Love Incarnate, was the real object of dread and hostility. The same year, on the 24th May, the more important members of the hierarchy met—Warham, Tunstall, and Gardyner—with Sir Thomas More, and "with the king's highness being present," and issued another condemnation of the New Testament "corrupted by William Tyndale," and ordered that it was to be "repelled, rejected, and put away." This meeting was called by the king on account of the pressure of public opinion, since divers and many of his subjects were "thinking that it were to all men not only expedient, but also necessary, to have in the English tongue both the New Testament and the Old"; but the decision was that "it is not necessary for the said Scripture to be in the English tongue, and in the hands of the common people." Yet popular desire, as it could not be repressed, was humoured, for it was proclaimed that "his Highness intended to provide, that the Holy Scriptures shall be by great, learned, and catholic persons translated into the English tongue, if it shall then seem to his Grace convenient to be."

About the same period, Tunstall, now Bishop of Durham, fulfilling the threatening which he had uttered at Antwerp, openly burned all the New Testaments which he had bought or seized, in St. Paul's Churchyard,[3] Stokesley being then in Italy. This fire was meant as a public demonstration and warning; but, as Burnet remarks, the people called it "a burning of the Word of God." The destruction at this time, as well as before and after it, must have been great. As we have already said, of the quarto edition only a fragment

[1] The cant term seems to have been a common one. West, Bishop of Ely, thus menaced Latimer on his change of view, "I perceive that you smell somewhat of the pan." Coverdale speaks of "the Pelagian's pan." Works, p. 387, Parker Society edition.

[2] Cotton MSS., Cleopatra E. V., fol. 360.

[3] Halle's Chronicle, p. 771.

remains; of the octavo, two copies, one of them imperfect, survive; and of the other three editions printed at Antwerp, one by Endhoven, and two by Ruremond, not a single specimen has been distinctly identified. But the people had now some fuller understanding of the character and worth of an English version; what had been valued by a few, had come to be appreciated by multitudes. The rabid destruction of the Scriptures only raised suspicions against the clerical burners, and diffused an intense desire to possess a book at the circulation and study of which the spiritualty were so greatly alarmed. Prohibitions against possessing and reading the New Testament were not obeyed in many cases. In 1529, Mafelde, precentor of the Benedictine Friars at Rochester, was proceeded against for keeping an English Testament, contrary to the injunctions

Proclamations and burnings were a coarse and vulgar expedient for the suppression of a book which claimed a reception as an honest and learned effort to give the Scriptures in an intelligible form to the English nation. To destroy the volume was only a rough way of checking its circulation by putting it out of existence. But, as the producing power was not injured, and copies could still be rapidly multiplied, and secretly imported and sent through the country, something better than the application of fire was thought of, and a critical condemnation of the version was resorted to. Tunstall had already declared that there were more than two thousand errors in the volume. Ridley,[1] in a letter, of which use has been made more than once, had also taken the same ground—reprobating the doctrine of the "Notes," finding fault with a few renderings, branding the omission of such terms as charity, penance, priest, and church, and adding, "Show ye the people that if any be of so proud and stubborn stomach, that he will believe that there is no fault or error except it be declared to him that he may see it, let him come hither to my lord, who hath profoundly examined all, and he shall hear and see errors, except that he be blind and have no

[1] Ridley was uncle to the famous martyr of the same name, and defrayed the expense of his education.

eyes."[1] Tunstall's copy must have borne these numerous marks on its margin. But statements of this nature were too vague to make any impression, and they were doubtless ascribed to ecclesiastical prejudice and intolerance. At the same time the man who pronounces these last censures absolves himself from any intimate acquaintance with the condemned volume, when he coolly concludes: "I have none of these books, but only remember what things I read in the prefaces and annotations." One sentence in this letter has a peculiar interest, as from it one might almost guess the title of the New Testament, for Ridley pronounces it heretical since it says "that it is prent as it was written by the Evangelistes" . . . . ; and the title page of Joye's wretched revision is somewhat similar.

[1] Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, E. V, p. 362.

CHAPTER XII.

THE New Testament had therefore now to suffer the critical vituperation of Sir Thomas More. Any one acquainted with his classical tastes and acquirements, his love of erudition and of scholars, would have anticipated from him a hearty welcome for Tyndale's masterly production. Surely a befitting eulogy might have been expected from so proficient a Greek student who had greeted in an eloquent Latin epigram the appearance of the Original Text of Erasmus in 1516, and from so accomplished an English writer as the historian of Richard III; from one who could so well appreciate the correctness of the translation, and who, while he admired the boldness and novelty, could make all allowance for the difficulties, of a first undertaking. More was fond of theology; and in St. Lawrence Church, Old Jewry, he had in early life lectured with great popularity on Augustine's De Civitate Dei. Bishop Tunstall shrank himself from the task of attacking Tyndale, but laid it on the learned and eloquent statesman, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. As a preliminary step, he formally licensed him, on the 7th of March, 1528, to "read the works of the heretics," in order that he might confute them, for "he could play the Demosthenes both in our native tongue and in Latin." More, with wonderful speed, produced a volume in the form of a Dialogue[1] between the author

[1] A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, knyghte, one of the Counsaill of our Soveraine Lorde the King and chancellour of hys Duchy of Lancaster, wherein be treatyd diverse matters . . . with many other things touching the pestilent secte of Luther and Tyndale, by the t'one bygone (begun) in Saxony, and by the t'other labored to be brought

and a messenger that a friend had sent to consult him about current events, such as the recent burning of the New Testament. The Dialogue was published in June, 1529, and on the 25th October of the same year he became Lord Chancellor of England. In his ingenious and eloquent arguments on behalf of the Popish Church we are not here interested, nor with Tyndale's lucid and vigorous replies on these points. More, however, does not display that familiarity with patristic and mediæval learning which was possessed by many divines and scholars of his age. The Answer of Tyndale, put to press in 1531, was printed, according to Joye, at Amsterdam, under the supervision of Fryth. More was said to have "the best knack of any man in Europe at calling bad names in good Latin"; but his Latin occasionally suffers from the impetuosity of his invective.[1] Now, however, to produce popular impressions, he wrote against Tyndale in English.

More roundly declares that no man who knew the character of these New Testaments could complain of their being burned, their proper name being not "the New Testament, but Tyndale's Testament, for it had been corrupted and changed to a clean contrary thing." "Over a thousand texts by tale" had been wrongly and falsely translated, and it was so hopelessly bad that it could not be amended, for it was such a mass of errors that to study to find out one error were "to study where to find water in the sea." A new translation could alone suffice, "for it is as easy to weave a new web of cloth as to sew up every hole in a net." To one who had been obliged to leave his native land, that he might be a translator, and who had honestly given to the work, "to him very painful," all his erudition and so many laborious and solitary days, a charge so sweeping and merciless as that of Sir Thomas More must have been "as a sword in his bones," wounding his tenderest sensibilities. Who could bear to be told so bluntly, and taunted so haughtily, that

into England. Emprented in London at the sygne of the Meremayd, at Powlys gate, MVCXXIX.

[1] As in his Responsio ad Convicia M. Lutheri, 1523.

he had come so lamentably short of his great aim? Had his prayers and toils, his love of God's Word and its free circulation, been all for nought, and were they to end "in vanity and vexation of spirit"? Tyndale's soul was therefore stirred from its depths, and he answered not only with no small asperity and keen personal retort, but sometimes descended to employ terms unworthy of his high vocation. He had been for years away from all softening associations of kindred or friends, forlorn and isolated among strangers, while his opponent was living in lettered ease and affluence, endowed with high power, and riding in the "second chariot" after the king. More had led the Commons in their refusal of money to Henry VII, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland, and had fallen under the royal displeasure so deeply, that, as his anticipated success in life seemed to be suddenly clouded he thought of leaving the country. He might have recalled his own bitter feelings, as he contemplated a foreign sojourn, and ascribed them in an intensified form to Tyndale who had been expatriated for so many lonely years. His reply to More is always shrewd, straightforward, scholarly, and without evasion, vigorously and with success defending every point on which his version is assaulted.

More's enormous charge so vehemently made, dwindles at length into the alleged mistranslation of some six words —congregation, elder, love, favour, knowledge, repentance, instead of church, priest, charity, grace, confession, penance. Three of these terms—priest, charity, church—are specially referred to, "and every one of them is more than thrice three times repeated and rehearsed in the book." Tyndale easily gives good reason for some of these changes, because the older terms carried wrong associations with them. Seniors was not, however, a happy rendering, and Tyndale at once allows it—"it is no very good English. Howbeit, I spied my fault at once, long ere Master More told it me, and have mended it in all the works which I since made, and called it an 'elder.'" His defence of the rendering "love" is, "Verily charity is no known English in that sense which Agape

requireth." This rendering "love" was adduced, during a debate in the Scottish Parliament of 1543, as an objection to the free circulation of Scripture. It may be added, as to the word "congregation," that More's friend, Erasmus, in his Latin version, uses congregatio a great many times—as in Acts ii, 47; v, 11; vii, 38; xi, 26; xv, 22; Rom. xvi, 5; 1 Cor. i, 1; xiv, 4, 33; Coloss. iv, 16, &c., the Vulgate having ecclesia in all these places. At the same time More had certainly the right to ask Tyndale why on his avowed principles he had not also changed "bishop" into overseer, and "deacon" into servant, and "baptism" into washing—"as when a woman washes a buck of clothes." The Anglo-Saxon Version had used native terms in such places. More justly finds fault with the rendering of John i, 1, Tyndale's version being "In the beginning was that worde, and that word was with God, and God was that word," the scholarly Chancellor remarking that "the Greek article should have its proper sense, and that the *subjectum* and *prædicatum* in the last clause should be carefully distinguished."

The two men did not understand one another. More had no conception of the learning, the loyalty, the simple-heartedness, and self-denial of Tyndale; and if Tyndale had known More's uprightness and grandeur of character, he would never have suspected him of writing for lucre, or for "mere favour of the Church of Rome." The rumour ran that five thousand pounds were raised as a reward, and that when Tunstall and other bishops went to present the purse, More, with many thanks, declined to receive it, and, with all their importunity, they could not "fist him with a penny of it." His children were mentioned; but his reply was, "Not so; I should rather see it all in the Thames than I or mine should have the worth of one penny thereof." More's own account is, "I had not a grey groat given me since I wrote my Dialogues . . . in good faith, I will not say nay, but that, in reward of my goodwill and my labour against these heretics, some good and honourable men of the clergy have given me much more than ever I did or could deserve. But I dare take God and them also to record, that I did not take one penny

thereof, but as I plainly told them, I would rather have cast their money into the Thames than take it."[1] Tyndale had a strange and unfounded notion that the retirement of Wolsey and the elevation of More were only a little dramatic scene, without any reality—a change got up to please the people offended by the Cardinal, and, the end being served, the actors would return to their former position.

Sir Thomas More was a man of great breadth of intellect and of high mental culture; yet, when the Church was in question, his geniality of nature forsook him, "an evil spirit troubled him," and he could act and write in a style of gross and vulgar fanaticism. He was truly an anomaly. He had been all but seduced into the "idle celibacy" of the Charterhouse; but his intimacy with Colet and other friends saved him from such a fate, and he became with them a reformer. Yet this man, of proverbial humour and hilarity, wore a hair shirt[2] next his skin, and flagellated himself with a whip of knotted cords, "especially every Fridai and great Saincts eves, and the fouer tymes of Ember Weeke." His dwelling was the abode of peace; his loving nature filled it with sunshine. It was not merely, according to Erasmus, like "the Academy of Plato," it was "a school of the Christian religion." More was fond of showing the animal pets of his children; and in Holbein's charming picture of his household, the monkey[3] is seen lying in the folds of Dame Alice's[4] dress, and the domestic fool also appears in the group. But with all this overflowing kindliness of nature, he could say of poor men as honest as himself, "that there should have been more burned by a great many than there have been within the seven years last past, the lack whereof, I fear me, will make more to be burned within this seven year next coming." He main-

[1] Apology, Works, p. 867, ed. 1557.

[2] The hair shirt, given by him to his daughter Margaret a short time before his execution, is said to be still preserved in the convent of Spilsburg, in the neighbourhood of Blandford.

[3] Erasmus had already immortalized the monkey, as he had seen it slyly and effectually defending a rabbit hutch from the attacks of a weasel.

[4] His second wife, whom, according to Erasmus, he styled *nec bella nec puella.*

tained in the case of Barnes, that he should have been burned, notwithstanding the king's safe-conduct; and in the case of Bilney, that the curt process should have been, Burn him to-day and try him to-morrow. The hands which had never been polluted by a bribe were, during his last months of office, stained with blood. Vindicating in his "Utopia," which apparently represents his own original beliefs, the doctrine of toleration—"for as man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases, no violence should be used to correct him"—he yet could have persons seized, scourged, and consumed to ashes, because of difference of religious opinions. He judged it, in his imaginary commonwealth, to be "foolish and indecent to threaten and terrify another for the purpose of making him believe what did not appear to him to be true," and he wished that "the world were all agreed to put all violence and compulsion away on all sides;" but he could go and see Bainham of the Middle Temple racked in the Tower—his crime being that he thought Tyndale's New Testament to be "utterly good," and the poor prisoner was at various times mercilessly whipped and tortured.[1] He had no difficulty in trying to force the conscience of other men; but rather than violate his own he willingly laid his head upon the block. All the while he was devoutly conscientious, and thought that he was doing God service in the repression of error, even to stripes and death; for, to any one who regards toleration as "soul-murder," the extirpation of heretics must be a paramount duty. His earlier theory was flung aside, and he sank, in some respects, to the level of his age. But he denies the story, afterwards told by Foxe and Burnet, that he had a tree in his garden called the Tree of Troth, to which he tied heretics that he might scourge them. He admits,

[1] Bainham had married the widow of Simon Fyshe, author of "The Supplication of Beggars," to which More had replied by, "The Supplication of Souls in Purgatory." In his address at the stake, 30th April, 1532, he said, "The articles I die for be these—first, I say it is lawful for every man and woman to have God's Book in their mother tongue." . . . He called the Chancellor his "accuser and judge," and his last words were "The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More."

however, that he had ordered castigation to a young servant, who had been venting gross sacramentarian error taught him by George Joye, and that he had caused such things to be done by the officers of the Marshalsea to some classes of heretical offenders. He acknowledges, too, in his own picquant way, that heretics were very loath to fall into his hands, and he wonders at their reluctance, "for they were burnt none the sooner." In the administration of justice he was honest beyond suspicion, and laboured to conclude all actions within a reasonable period; nay, "the poorer and meaner the suppliant was, the more affably would he speak unto him, and the more heartily he would hearken to his cause and despatch him."[1] But not only did he administer the law against religious offenders with special zealousness, he also, as first judge under the crown, ordered or allowed the statutes against heretics to be so illegally stretched or disregarded, as to be the means of inflicting wanton outrage on helpless sufferers.[2] But lighter punishments were sometimes inflicted. When John Tyndale was arrested on the charge of corresponding with his brother, sending money to him, and receiving and selling the version, not only were he and Thomas Patmore, a London draper, very heavily fined, but the facetious Lord Chancellor of England sentenced them to be exhibited for a laughing-stock at the standard in Cheapside, on horseback with their faces to the animals' tails, and their cloaks garnished with copies of the forbidden Testament.[3] He had composed a Latin poem

[1] Life by his great-grandson Cressacre More (p. 182), who, however, makes the mistake of calling his ancestor the first lay chancellor.

[2] The despatch sent to the English ambassador at Paris, giving an account of More's execution, uses language of vehement exaggeration to cover the weakness of its argument, "they were well worthy, if they had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten times a more terrible death."

[3] This form of punishment might not appear so singular in those days, for Lord Ellesmere, more than half a century afterwards, in the reign of James I, when a "Replication," extending to six score sheets, and which might have been contained in sixteen, was brought before him, ordered that the parchment should have a hole cut in the middle of it, and in this way be put over the head of the attorney who framed it, that it might hang over his shoulders with the written side outward, and

in high praise of the new sovereign, Henry VIII, on his accession; but he soon came to know the character of his royal master, for, speaking to his son-in-law Roper of the singular favour with which the king regarded him, he added, "Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee that I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go;" and it did go on the 6th of July, 1535.

He had enjoyed the witty and erudite conversation of Erasmus; and even when he held the Great Seal, he was so humble that he was wont to put on a surplice and sing among the choristers in his parish church of Chelsea. Yet his elevated and noble nature could stoop to use this language: "Our Saviour will say to Tyndale, Thou art accursed, Tyndale, the son of the devil, for neither flesh nor blood hath taught thee these heresies, but thine own father, the devil that is in hell." Or again, in another style: "Judge, Christian reader, whether it be possible that he be any better than a beast, out of whose brutish, beastly mouth cometh such a filthy foam of blasphemies against Christ's holy ceremonies." More had a profound admiration for Pico della Mirandola, whose Life he had translated, with portions of his Works, in 1510; and it would have been well if he had remembered one of the Italian prince's sayings, Englished by himself: "Take no heed what many men do, but do what thing the very law of nature, what thing very reason, what thing our Lord himself showeth thee to be done." He eulogizes Savonarola as "a preacher, as well in cunning as in holiness of living most famous," even though he had been excommunicated by the Pope, and at length hanged and burned as a heretic; and might not he have allowed that others who opposed the Papacy were as honest and upright as the Florentine reformer? But, in his own words, "he had been troublesome to heretics," and, as he writes, in explanation of his self-made epitaph, to Erasmus, he had done it "with ambition."[1] More, however, stands in-

that he, so ornamented, should be led round the various courts of Westminster Hall.

[1] Quod in epitaphio profiteor, me hæreticis esse molestum, hoc ambitiose feci.

finitely higher than some of his successors—than Audley, so obedient a minister in Henry's worst crimes; than Wriothesley, who, when Ann Askew was tortured, put his own hand to the rack to increase the lady's agony; or than Rich, whose "infamy" is chronicled by Lord Campbell.[1] In his preface to his Confutation, adverting stoically to various sufferers, he stigmatizes Hitton[2] as "a new saint of Tyndale canonization," but "the devil's stinking martyr," &c.; and when he refers to Tewksbury, a London tradesman, who had been arraigned before him in his own house at Chelsea, and sent by him and the Bishop of London to the fire, he declares that the martyr "owed all his heretical opinions to Tyndale's ungracious books, for which the poor wretch now lyeth in hell, and crieth out on him; and Tyndale, if he do not amend in time, he is like to find him, when they come together, a hot firebrand burning in his back. . . . The marvel is, Tyndale denieth purgatory except he intend to go to hell." Though his abuse of his opponents be so rabid, he contrives, like a clever lawyer, to fix on them a charge of railing: "To match them therein I neyther canne thoughe I woulde, neyther wyll I though I coulde, for in rayling standeth all their revel; with their railing all their roste meate is basted, all their potte seasoned, all their pye meate spiced, all their manchetes, and all their wafers, and all their ypocrase made."[3] But, having washed his hands, and taken this protest, he could style Tyndale "one of the hellhounds which the devil hath in his kennel"—"a devilish dronken soul." Tyndale had called the writings of Aquinas "draff," and for this sin More describes him as "this drowsy drudge, who hath drunken so deep into the devil's dregs, that he may hap . . . to fall into the mashing fat, and turn himself

[1] Lives of the Chancellors, vol. II, p. 143. An interesting interpretation of the side glances in the Utopia, at things and customs in England, may be found in Brewer's Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII, vol II, pt. 1, p. cclxvii, London, 1864.

[2] Hitton, "an honest, poor man," had been across the seas, and brought back two New Testaments. After trial he was sentenced to the stake by Archbishop Warham, and he was burned in February, 1529. Foxe, vol. VIII, Appendix.

[3] Apology, Works, p. 866, ed. 1557.

into draff, as the hogs shall feed upon and fill their bellies thereof."[1]

On the other hand, Tyndale falls as low as, with poor wit, to call Wolsey "Wolfslee"—"a wily wolf and a raging sea," and More "Master Mock"; and he sometimes approaches the Chancellor's rhetoric, as when he says of him, "Yet for all that, covetousness blinded the eyes of that gleering fox more and more, and hardened his heart against the truth with the confidence of his painted poetry, babbling eloquence, and juggling arguments of subtile sophistry, grounded on his 'unwritten verities,' as true and authentic as his story of Utopia." And he speaks of Popish ceremonies in a style so stark and naked that it must have shocked Catholics into antipathy and horror. Lord Herbert calls him a witty but violent, and sometimes railing disputant.[2] But to Tyndale's honour be it recorded, that when he comes to the tenth chapter of the second book of More's Dialogue—a tale of very gross indecency—his single reply is, that "the chapter is meet for the author and his worshipful doctrine."

On the abstract question of translations of Scripture, Sir Thomas More writes calmly, like one who had looked up to Colet "with filial reverence," and admits that he would not deny it to the people, even though it might be abused. But the translation which he would allow must be a new one, made through a division of labour, by "sure, good, catholic, and well-learned men, and allowed by the ordinaries. It is not to be given to such as do not profit." Nor should the people have the entire Scripture; each, however, may secure a part at the selection of the bishop. But these notions, put forth in the Dialogue, are much narrowed in the Confutation and Apology; and he at length affirms that men may have all necessary knowledge, though the "corpse and body of the Scripture" be not translated into their mother tongue. He would not, however, object to a translation "if the men were amended, and the time meet therefor." When he declares that he knows of a version made before Wycliffe's

[1] Confutation, Works, p. 679.

[2] England under Henry VIII, p. 591, London, 1870.

time,[1] Tyndale tartly replies, "What may not M. More say, by authority of his poetry? There is a lawful translation that no man knoweth, which is as much as no lawful translation. Why might not the bishops show which were that lawful translation, and let it be printed? Nay, if that had been obtained of them with large money, it had been printed, ye may be sure, long ere this. But, sir, answer me hereunto; how happeneth it that ye defenders translate not one yourselves, to cease the murmur of the people, and put to your own glosses, to prevent heretics? Ye would, no doubt, have done it long since, if ye could have made your glosses agree with the text in every place."

When More explained the relation of the bishops to versions of Scripture to be, not that the Scripture shall not be in English, but that no man may translate it by his own authority, or read it, until they had approved it, Tyndale answered, with suggestive brevity, "If no translation shall be had until they give license, or till they approve it, it shall never be had. And so it is all one, in effect, to say there shall be none at all in English." Tyndale was specially roused if any statement bore on his veracity—his character being still more precious to him than his literary and Biblical work. More had averred that Tyndale, on being "opposed of his doctrine ere he went over sea, said and sware that he meant no harm." Tyndale responds with deep solemnity and earnest abruptness, "He sware not; nor was there any man that required an oath of him."

More has a criticism of ferocious playfulness[2] on Tyndale's English. He objects to the translation of John i, 21, "Art thou *a* prophet? And he answered, No." "Tyndale," says he, "by the Greek tongue, perceiving the article, saw well enough that he should not have translated it into the English,—Art

[1] See p. 61.

[2] More had another friend of the same name to whom he had lent money, and whom the loan had alienated. He composed a few Latin lines on this debtor, the first of which have been thus translated,—

"O Tyndale, there was once a time,
a pleasant time of old,
Before thou cam'st a borrowing,
before I lent thee gold," &c.

thou *a* prophet? but, Art thou that prophet? to wit, the great prophet of whom Moses prophesied." And he adds, "I would here note by the way, that Tyndale here translateth *no* for *nay*, for it is a trifle and mistaking of the English word; saving that ye should see that he which in two so plain English words, and so common as is *nay* and *no*, cannot tell when he should take the tone, and when the tother, is not for translating into English a man very meet. For the use of these two words in answering to a question is this: Nay answereth the question framed in the affirmative, as, for example, if a man should ask Tyndale himself, Is an heretic meet to translate holy Scripture into English? So, to this question, if he will answer true English, he must answer *nay*, and not *no*, But if the question be asked him thus: Lo, is not an heretic meet to translate holy Scripture into English? To this question, lo, if he will answer true English, he must answer *no*. and not *nay*. And a like difference is there between these two adverbs, *yea* and *yes*. For if the question be framed unto Tyndale by the affirmative in this fashion: If an heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the Word of God, be his book worthy to be burned? To this question, asked in this wise, if he will answer true English, he must answer *yea*, and not *yes*. But now, if the question be asked him thus by the negative: If an heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English, to make his false heresies seem the word of God, be not his books well worthy to be burned? To this question, in this fashion framed, if he will answer true English, he may not answer *yea*, but he must answer *yes;* and say, Yes, marry, be they, both the translation and the translator, and all that will hold with them."[1]

Tyndale's reply to the "Dialogue" brought out, in 1532 More's "Confutation," which grew at length into five hundred folio pages. His "Apology" was written afterwards, in 1533, in which he attacked a book called the "Pacifier,"

[1] Works, p. 448, 1557. It is odd that in the editions of More's Works 1532, and 1557, nay is printed *no* in the first clause, explaining the difference.

published by a lawyer, Christopher Saintgerman.[1] In it he reverts to the old subject of quarrel; and is obliged to admit that "men thought his 'Confutation' overlong, and therefore tedious to read," while they did not appreciate the point of his arguments, and did not like the sharp, bitter abuse which he had poured upon the translator. This was a sad confession on the part of a champion who had vowed, "I shall leave Tyndale never a dark corner to creep into, able to hide his head in." In fact, More's continuation of the controversy proves that he regarded his first efforts as unsuccessful. What man could do to write down the first English New Testament, he had done with a will; but the translation was not "wounded unto death." Joye's account of the various editions which had in the mean-time been poured into the country will be found on a subsequent page.

[1] More also published the "Debellation of Salem and Byzance," in reply to "Salem and Byzance," another work of Christopher Saintgerman. This gentleman's mother was named Anne Tyndale.

CHAPTER XIII.

TYNDALE'S whole nature was filled with his work, and overmastered by it. It was his meat, for he lived by it, and it was to him "the wine that maketh glad the heart of man." His mind was ever ruminating on it—dwelling on the benefits of it, or refuting the arguments usually paraded against it. The necessity of an English Bible was his dominant idea, which, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up every rival. After doing and daring so much for it himself, his counsel to Fryth, in 1532, was, "ever thrust in, that the Scriptures may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities."

This expression of an intense desire for the furtherance of sound learning was not peculiar to Tyndale—it had been always associated with intelligent plans of ecclesiastical reformation. Wycliffe's times bore witness to the truth of the statement in a very remarkable form. Even when his followers fell away, and were rewarded by high preferment for their recantation, their love of learning did not always die in their apostasy. Richard Flemmyng, Bishop of Lincoln, under whose episcopal mandate the Reformer's bones were dug up and burned, founded Lincoln College, at Oxford, in 1428. William of Wykeham knew the strength of Wycliffism, and he founded New College in 1379; Waynflete, who had similar experience, founded Magdalene Hall and Magdalene College. Chichele, who had felt that the biblical power of the Lollards could be matched only by similar skill and training, founded All Souls in 1436; Wolsey, who coveted some amount of reform, founded Christ Church; Bishop Foxe, in a similar spirit, founded Corpus

Christi in 1516; and Chancellor Audley, who, though he carried the "Act of the Six Articles," was always suspected of a secret sympathy with the reformers, was the chief establisher of St. Mary Magdalene College, Cambridge. Literature ought ever to be the handmaid of theology, and culture of the highest form is a fitting qualification for the study of Scripture. Many who were hostile to the open study of the Bible were consistently prejudiced against liberal academic tuition—light was not "sweet" to them, nor was it for them "a pleasant thing to behold the sun," unless he were curtained with a thick cloud.

The current objections to an English translation of the Scriptures Tyndale rebuts, with singular vigour, in the preface to the "Obedience of a Christian Man"— . . . "God gave the children of Israel a law, by the hand of Moses, in their mother tongue; and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue; and all the psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ, but figured and described in ceremonies, in riddles, and parables, and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the Old Testament, with the New also, which is the light of the Old, and wherein is openly declared before the eyes, that which there was darkly prophesied? I can imagine no cause verily, except it be that we should not see the work of antichrist and juggling of hypocrites. . . . If the said Scripture were in the mother tongue, they will say, 'Then would the lay people understand it, every man after his own ways.' Wherefore serveth the curate, but to teach him the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that the people should come and learn? But, alas! the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the New or the Old Testament meaneth than do the Turks; neither know they of any more than that they read at mass and evensong, which yet they understand not; neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day as the pie and popinjay speak. . . . Nay, say they, the Scripture is so hard that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the mete-yard by the cloth. There be twenty cloths, of divers lengths and of divers breadths; how shall I

be sure of the length of a mete-yard by them? I suppose, rather, I must be first sure of the length of the mete-yard, and thereby measure and judge of the cloths. Ye drive them from God's Word, and will let no man come thereto until he have been two years master of art. First, they nosel them in sophistry. . . . And then corrupt they their judgments with apparent arguments, and with alleging unto them texts of logic, of natural philautia, of metaphysic, and moral philosophy, and all manner of books of Aristotle, and all manner of doctors which they never yet saw. Moreover, one holdeth this, another that. . . . Yet they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry as filthy as heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles." While he describes in these graphic clauses the perverse custom of his own age, Tyndale wrote it as if in prophetic anticipation of the damage which philosophy has so often brought upon theology—when the Word of God has been so construed as to be pressed into accordance with some favourite system. Certain metaphysical views of the divine nature and government, and of man's intellectual and spiritual constitution, have lodged themselves in all creeds and confessions. While the mind may be braced by every form of mental discipline, and all spheres of scholarship may be entered and ransacked, to the advantage of true theology; the Bible is still a popular book, designed for universal study. To instruct men it does not employ the tongue of angels. It is written in a style which is meant to be comprehended by the simple inquirer, that its truths may be accepted by the honest and good heart. Divines are not to impose a sense, they are only to educe it. But in those days Aristotelianism held high sway, and the Stagyrite supplied the key to the meaning of St. Paul; while at an earlier time Plato had been enthroned as supreme exegete. Plain men, who had no acquaintance with the current terms of academic thought and logic, were supposed to be in no small peril if they were brought into contact with Scripture, for their use of it would

certainly be the abuse of it, as the following anecdote illustrates. In 1529, when Latimer, in St. Edward's Church at Cambridge, advocated, in his two famous sermons "on the Card," —the translation and universal reading of the Scriptures, Prior Buckenham soon replied, in another discourse on "Christmas Dice," in the following style: "Thus," he asked, with a smile of triumph, "where Scripture saith, 'No man that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God,' will not the ploughman, when he readeth these words, be apt forthwith to cease from his plough, and then where will be the sowing and harvest? Likewise, also, whereas the baker readeth, 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,' will he not forthwith be too sparing in the use of leaven, to the great injury of our health? And so, also, when the simple man reads the words, 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee,' incontinent he will pluck out his eyes, and so the whole realm will be full of blind men, to the great decay of the nation, and the manifest loss of the king's grace. And thus, by reading of Holy Scriptures, will the whole kingdom come in confusion."[1] When a preacher so shrewd as this prior could bring himself to utter these grotesque and silly absurdities, with a solemn countenance, in the pulpit, the "beginning of the end" had come, and the triumph of the English Bible was close at hand.

The volumes of the New Testament being finished and sent away, Tyndale had left Worms and gone to the quaint old town of Marburg, in the valley of the Lahn, where he was soon afterwards joined by Fryth, who had escaped from England. Tyndale's heart was "filled with his company." What a tale he had to tell of the work in the mother-land, in the capital, and in the two universities, of alarm and persecution on the one side, and of momentary faint-heartedness on the other, for Barnes had set an example too readily followed. Fryth had been degraded, imprisoned, and forced to flee, on a charge of reading the English New Testament, for the translation of which Tyndale had been for four years and upwards "a fugitive and a vagabond." "But none of

[1] Demaus, Life of Latimer, p. 77.

these things moved" Tyndale to swerve from his purpose, and he did not count his "life dear unto him, that he might finish his course." Living "in a strange land, among a people that as well varied from his manners as their persons to him were unknown," his experience was that of the early apostles—"perplexed but not in despair, persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed." His own rendering of Galatians vi, 9, must often have suggested itself as a motto for himself and his fellow-wanderer, "Let us do good, and let us not faint: for when the tyme is come, we shall repe without werynes." Unwearied and undaunted, he resolved to persevere, and to translate also the Old Testament. The quiet of the little town favoured his project, and its university, which as the first Protestant one, had been founded by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, gave him the free society of learned men, while the press of Hans Luft was a ready and unfettered power. During his sojourn at Marburg he published the "Parable of the Wicked Mammon"—his first publication with his name formally prefixed. "The Obedience of a Christian Man," and the "Practice of Prelates," soon followed. Whatever the value of these writings "for the time then present," and in vindication of his position and work, it is to be regretted that he did not give his whole time to the nobler and more enduring work of translation. The translation of the Old Testament was carried on to the end of the Pentateuch, and printed. The circumstantial story of his shipwreck on the voyage to Hamburg to have it printed, of the loss of the manuscript, and his subsequent assistance from Coverdale, cannot be fully accepted. The story will be again referred to; but it may be noted that Coverdale and Foxe, who reports the incident, were contemporary ministers in London for about ten years. The five Books were circulated separately as they came from the press, and the whole Pentateuch appeared in 1530, the Book of Genesis being dated the 17th of January, "Emprented at Marlborough, in the land of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lord M.CCCCC.XXX, the XVII dayes of Januarii." Only one perfect copy survives, and is in the Grenville Library of the British Museum. In

the Bodleian there is a perfect copy of Genesis. Genesis and Numbers are in black letter, with thirty-one lines in a page; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy in Roman letter, with twenty-eight lines in a page. But it is still probable, in spite of such differences, which cannot be accounted for, that all the books came from the same press, as the ornamental title pages, the form, the wire-lines and watermarks in the paper are the same. A re-issue was published in 1534, with "Genesis new corrected and amended," and the other books were bound up with it into one volume. There is a general introduction, and each book has a special preface. A list, or table, of the more difficult words is appended to Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and there were also marginal glosses. Tyndale, striving to make everything clear and distinct, gives the Books a common name, and one also taken from the Vulgate—as "the third Book of Moses, called Leviticus;" "the fourth Book of Moses, called Numerys"—Luther having simply "the third of Moses," and Matthew has "the thyrde Boke of the Kynges after the reckoning of the Latinists, which after the Hebrewes is called the fyrste of the Kynges." Mr. Demaus makes it probable that, with the money which Tyndale got for his books from Packington, he bought from Vostermann the "woodcuts" which had been employed in a Dutch Bible of 1528, and which now appeared in the English Pentateuch, or, more correctly, in the Book of Exodus, as illustrations of the tabernacle and its furniture. The translation was denounced in May, 1530, and during the currency of that year, the translator himself, in his "Practice of Prelates," makes familiar reference to it. Tyndale published also a separate translation of Jonah in 1531, and it was denounced by Bishop Stokesley, on the 3rd December of the same year, as "Jonas in English." Sir Thomas More, in his "Confutation" of Tyndale's Answer, says in his own spirit of magnificent contempt, "Then we have Jonas made out by Tyndale, a book that whoso delighteth therein, shall stand in peril that Jonas was never so swallowed up by the whale, as by the delight of that book a man's soul may be swallowed up by the devil, that he shall never have the grace to get out again." Foxe and Bale refer to it, and it occurs also

in a catalogue of prohibited volumes in 1542. But the translation not being reprinted soon disappeared, and it was so utterly unknown that some even doubted of its existence. The famous prologue to Jonah was re-issued several times, as in the Bibles of 1549 and 1551; but the translation was not inserted by Matthew or Rogers in his Bible of 1537, though he used Tyndale's printed Pentateuch, and his version up to the end of Second Chronicles which the martyr had left in manuscript. The prologue is also found in the usual collected editions of Tyndale's works. Professor Walter even argues against the existence of the translation, chiefly because it is not found in Matthew's Bible, while Cotton and Anderson rightly insist that it must have followed the Prologue. The translation was at length found as accidentally as had been the fragment of the quarto New Testament. Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, discovered it in the library at Irkworth in the autumn of 1861, as part of a book which had been for two centuries in the possession of his family. The Prologue is a long polemical treatise against prevailing errors, and in defence of the free and literal interpretation of Scripture. It abounds likewise in solemn warnings, for the fate of England was thought to be mirrored in the fate of Nineveh. Prologue and translation were apparently printed at Antwerp, by Martin Emperowr who also printed the Revised New Testament in 1534. The Prologue is prefaced thus: "The Prophete Jonas, with an introduction before, teaching ye to understand him and the right use of all the Scriptures," and at its commencement is the usual address, "W. T. unto the Christen Reader." The translation is thus introduced: "The storie of the prophete Jonas." The translation, along with Coverdale's version, has been very accurately reproduced by Mr. Fry of Bristol, and one may easily compare them.[1] Tyndale's revision of the New Testament must have been postponed, and his continuation of the version of the Old Testament must have been suspended by the publication of his Exposition of the Epistles of John, and by his Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. The Commentary on the First Epistle of John is strongly polemical and keen in

[1] The Prophet Jonas, &c. London, 1863.

tone; but he says truly, "We restore the Scripture unto her right understanding from your glosses." We cannot but regret that he occupied so large a portion of 1531-2 on this work. He felt, however, that more was wanted than a "translation into the vulgar and common tongue; we must also bring the true key to understand it by."

A very few sentences of intrusive digression may be forgiven at this point. During this period the fires of martyrdom had been kindled in England. He whom Latimer so fondly called "his own son in the faith, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God," had some time before borne his faggot in a moment of weakness. But he soon revived, and resolved in the spirit of the Master to "go up to Jerusalem." Having given "to an anchoress" of the episcopal city of Bishop Nikke, a copy of Tyndale's New Testament—a book which had been to himself as the lion's marrow that nursed the heroes of antique story—he was arrested, degraded, and burned, August 19, 1531, in the Lollard's pit, a hollow place near the gate of Norwich. Richard Bayfield, when a monk at Bury, had read the English New Testament, and left his monastery. He was "beneficial to Master Tyndale and Master Fryth, for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works." He had been dealt with in 1528, and had abjured; but, on relapsing, he was sentenced by Stokesley to the stake, the sentence containing a list of the books in which he had been trading. He was burned at Newgate, 28th November, 1531.

It was natural that Tyndale, when he had completed an English translation of the Christian Scriptures, should turn his attention to the translation of the Jewish Scriptures. To translate them was in every way a more formidable task to him than his earlier work—a task which he must often have surveyed on all sides as he made up his mind slowly and carefully to attempt it. The difficulty of mastering a new and peculiar language did not deter him, and though Hebrew Grammars bristled with barbarous and repulsive technicalities, his courage triumphed. Knowing that "the Law and the Prophets" were the natural introduction to the New Covenant, he longed

to present them to his people in English speech; their prolonged and joyous utterances being, that a Divine Deliverer should appear, and His appearance "in the fulness of the time," with His words and deeds, being the great facts recorded by Evangelists and expounded by Apostles. Greek had, at an earlier period, engaged his attention and study, its immortal harmonies had held him in thrall, and now, though the fervour of youth may have subsided, he must have felt a special fascination in the voices and symbols of the old Semitic seers; in the curt and co-ordinate clauses of the Mosaic legislation; in the rhythm and spiritual beauty of the Psalms; and in the magnificent imagery and varied music of Isaiah, and the other members of the inspired brotherhood. As his preface to Jonah indicates, Tyndale thought also that many of the racy and unsparing denunciations of the Hebrew "men of God," were applicable to England, especially those sections of the Minor Prophets which expounded ethics and polity, which held up popular failings to scorn and censure, which battled against reigning iniquities in rulers and priests, and which always connected sin with penalty, and national degeneracy with national disaster.

In an early century there had been some desire to educate the clergy in Hebrew. At a general council held, under Clement V, at Vienna in 1310, it was provided that Hebrew should be taught in Paris, Oxford, and other universities. Ten years afterwards, at a synod convened at Lambeth under Archbishop Reynold in 1320, it was ordained that there should be a Hebrew lectureship at Oxford, the lectureship being endowed by the tax of a farthing in the pound on all the livings in the province of Canterbury. The first lecturer appointed was John of Bristol, a converted Jew. But the measure seems to have soon collapsed. Two centuries afterwards, in 1524, Robert Wakefield, a friend of Reuchlin, and who had occupied a chair at Tübingen, was sent down by the king to teach the ancient language at Cambridge. Tyndale, therefore, who had left the university before this period, could not have acquired Hebrew at home, but must have learned it from Jews in some of the continental towns in which he sojourned. There were in Worms many Jews whose tuition Tyndale probably enjoyed, and such

earnestness, vigour, and power of application as characterized him could not fail to be crowned with speedy success. The Hebrew Bible had been published in separate parts during several years; but an entire Hebrew Bible appeared at Soncino in 1488, and another at Brescia, 1494. This last was the edition used by Luther in his German translation, and his copy is still preserved in the royal library at Berlin. Bomberg's Hebrew Bible had been published in 1518; the great Rabbinical Bible in 1519 and 1525. But Tyndale could have had few helps. The Hebrew Grammar of Conrad Pellican, the first that appeared, was published in 1503; Reuchlin's Dictionary followed in 1506; and Münster's Grammar in 1525. The Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible, by Pagninus, was published at Lyons in 1528,—the result of twenty-five years' labour, and his Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ in 1529. The Complutensian Polyglott, 1517-20, contained both a Hebrew Grammar and Lectionary.[1]

As Tyndale translated the New Testament from the original Greek, so his version of the Pentateuch was taken immediately from the original Hebrew. This statement, as in the former case, has been called in question. Fuller's thoughtless words are, "I presume he rendered the Old Testament of the Latin, his best friends not entitling him to any skill at all in Hebrew."[2] His skill in Hebrew, however, was considerable; but Fuller took no pains to inquire into the matter at all; neither did Johnson, who ventures to say, "Probably, Tyndale rendered the Old Testament out of Latin, having little or no skill at all in Hebrew."[3] Macknight hazards the assertion, "It is generally believed that Tyndale did not understand Hebrew, but he of course understood the Latin Vulgate, and he was likewise acquainted with German."[4] Bishop Marsh writes doubtfully, but with a

[1] Das Studium des Hebraischen Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des XV bis zur Mitte des XVI Jahrhunderts, Breslau, 1870.

[2] Church History, vol. II, p. 89, London, 1837.

[3] Historical Account of the several English Translations of the Bible, in Bishop Watson's Theological Tracts, vol. III, p. 70.

[4] Preface to Translation of the Epistles, p. 14.

lurking adverse bias, "What knowledge Tyndale had of Hebrew is unknown," and more distinctly, "These translations he made, according to Johnson, not from the Hebrew, but from the Latin Vulgate, or as the Popish writers affirm, from Luther's German translation."[1] Surely Bishop Marsh did not need to rest his decision on any opinion published by Anthony Johnson. Hallam is more cautious—"It has been controverted of late years, whether he were acquainted or not with Hebrew."[2] Others like Archbishop Newcome,[3] and Bishop Grey,[4] have advanced similar statements. On the other hand, the declaration of Buschius need not be repeated in favour of Tyndale's scholarship, nor the admission of George Joye.[5] Tyndale's own solemn avowal, in the Preface to the Five Books of Moses, is, that he made his translation from the Hebrew original: "Notwithstanding yet I submit this book and all other that I have either made or translated, or shall in time to come (if it be God's will that I shall further labour in his harvest) unto all them that submit themselves unto the Word of God, to be corrected of them; yea, and moreover to be disallowed and also burnt, if it seem worthy, when they have examined it with the Hebrew, so that they first put forth of their own translating another that is more correct." In a variety of ways, Tyndale indicates his knowledge of Hebrew, never, indeed, boastfully, but rather incidentally as the subject happened to turn up. He gives a critical and comparative estimate in the preface to the "Obedience of a Christian Man": "The properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English, than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into English word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have some grace

[1] Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible. Appendix, p. 520.

[2] Literature of Europe, vol. I, p. 379.

[3] Historical View, p. 25, Dublin, 1792.

[4] Key to the Old Testament, p. 18, London, 1842.

[5] See Page 137.

and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English than into the Latin." More distinct is his utterance in the prologue to Matthew: "If aught seemed changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase, or manner of speech, left in the Greek words; whose preterperfect tense and present tense are oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mood also, and the future tense oft the imperative mood in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise, person for person, number for number, and interrogation for a conditional, and such like, is with the Hebrew a common usage."

A melancholy token of Tyndale's love of Hebrew learning remains to be added. M. Galesloot has discovered, in the Archives of the Council of Brabant, a letter written by Tyndale during his imprisonment. In this letter, among other touching requests, he says in pathetic earnestness: . . . "I wish also his permission to have a candle in the evening, for it is wearisome to sit alone in the dark. But above all, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur, that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew Grammar, and Hebrew Dictionary, that I may spend my time with that study. And in return, may you obtain your dearest wish, provided always it be consistent with the salvation of your soul."[1]

There is besides abundant evidence open to every one that Tyndale's version of the Pentateuch rests on the original Hebrew. He acted wisely in using all the helps within his reach, such as the Vulgate, and the translation of Luther. There are about fifty Hebrew words explained by him in his various writings. A large number of them occurs in his "Treatise on the Sacraments," where he shows that "the Jews are wont ever to name the memorial and sign of things with the very name of the thing signified," and he explains in reference to the "sign," "so are such ceremonies named in Hebrew." In some cases he translates literally, as "Ebenezer"

[1] Demaus, Tyndale, p. 476.

a "help stone," 1 Sam. vii, 12; in Num. vi, he renders Nazarite by "absteyner," in allusion to the meaning which he ascribed to the original term, and the translation is neither after the Luther nor the Vulgate. He renders a clause in Deuteronomy vi, 7, "and whet them on thy children," following Luther,—a metaphor so strong as to be recommended only by its being a literal translation, and it is put into our present margin. Tyndale gives the meaning of Peniel, Mahanaim, El elohe, Israel; explains Pharisee as separated; Caleb, as perfect, applied to a sacrifice; Pesach, as a passing-by; and Hormah, as destruction. Many words occur in his formal list appended to Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy. His explanations show some familiarity with the language, and his very mistakes prove decidedly that he judged for himself, and was not a servile follower either of the German Reformer or of the Latin version.

The first word is Abrech (Gen. xli, 43),[1] which he explains as "tender father," or, as some will, "bow the knee," and our Authorized Version gives, along with the Hebrew term, the first in the margin and the second in the text. Probably the word is Egyptian; but if it be one word, then "bow the knee" might be taken, and the alternative might be "tender king." Now, Tyndale could not get his translation from Luther, who gives the erroneous explanation, "der ist des Landes Vater," nor from the Septuagint, which omits the term and gives "and there heralded before him a herald." He has also improved on the Vulgate[2] by showing that he took the Hebrew term for an imperative.

Our translators follow Tyndale in many places where he kept close to the original, as indeed he generally does. In Genesis xli, 3, "and stood"[3] is the literal rendering, which the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther forsake. In verse 6, the literal version is "blighted" or "withered up by the east wind." Tyndale has "blasted with the wind"; our version "the east wind." The Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther are not so precise, and Luther has simply "versengete,"

[1] אַבְרֵךְ [2] Ut omnes coram eo genuflecterent. [3] וְתַעְמֹדְנָה

singed. He renders Sartabaim (Genesis xxxvii, 36) "chefe marshall," and thus justifies his rendering: "In Hebrew he is called *Sartabaim*, as thou wouldest say, Lord of the slaughtermen. And though that *tabaim* be taken for cooks in many places (for the cooks did slay the beasts themselves in those days), yet it may be taken for them that put men to execution also"—and our present margin embodies the explanation. In his Exposition of Matthew he says, "concerning this word repentance, or (as they used) 'penance,' the Hebrew hath in the Old Testament generally (sob)[1] turn, or be converted; for which the translation that we take for St. Jerome's hath most part *converti*, to turn, to be converted, and sometimes *agere pœnitentiam*. And the very sense and signification both of the Hebrew and also of the Greek word is, to be converted, to turn to God with all the heart, to know his will, and to live according to his laws."

Zaphnath-Paanea,[2] Genesis xli, 45, "Words of Egypt (as I suppose), and as much as to say, a man to whom secret things be opened, or an expounder of secret things, as some interpret it." Now, the Septuagint does not translate the word, but only transfers it. The Vulgate and Luther give a different explanation. The phrase is probably a native one (lingua Ægyptiaca, Vulgate); Brugsch renders it, "prince of the life of the world"; but Tyndale explains it according to supposed Hebrew analogy.

In expounding Jehovah Nissi, Exodus xvii, 15, which is rendered "the Lord my banner," he adopts another root and gives it as "the Lord is he that exalteth me,"[3] the rendering suggested by the Vulgate; Luther leaves the words untranslated. Belial he explains as "he that hath cast the yoke of God off his neck," a derivation found afterwards in Münster, and mentioned by Buxtorf. He always, whether rightly or wrongly, selects for himself a Hebrew root in explaining such names as Avim, Emim, Enache, Zamzummim, &c.

Tyndale is believed to have carried on his work beyond the

[1] שׁוּב [2] צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ [3] Exaltatio mea.

Pentateuch, and to have translated the historical books to the end of Second Chronicles, and it is supposed that this version formed part of the Bible that went by the name of Matthew.[1] In 2 Samuel i, 18, he renders, "And David sang thys song of mournyng over Saul, and over Jonathan hys sonne, and bade to teache the children of Israel the staves thereof"; in our version, "He bade them teach the children of Israel *the use of* the bow." The supplemented prosaic words in italics destroy the sense, as the next clause shows, "behold it is written in the book of Jasher." The real meaning is that the elegy was named the Bow; he taught them the Bow-song. Tyndale assigned to the noun[2] a root meaning "to collect," and thus got the sense of staves or stanzas, lighting nearly on the real signification by a false etymological conjecture. In the "Obedience of a Christian Man," he says that in Hebrew cohen[3] is "a minister or officer," rightly giving it a meaning broader than priest. Taking Horim from a wrong root meaning "white," he gives it the sense of noble, whereas it denotes cave-dwellers, as its proper etymon indicates. Though the philology in such cases is erroneous, it shows Tyndale's independent handling of the Hebrew, as when he says, somewhat fancifully, "First, *Mammon* is a Hebrew word and signifieth riches or temporal goods; and namely, all superfluity, and all that is above necessity, and that which is required unto our necessary uses, wherewith a man may help another, without undoing or hurting himself; for *hamon,* in Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude, or abundance, or many; and there hence cometh *mahamon* or *mammon,* abundance, or plenteousness of goods or riches." In his rendering, in his Exposition of John i, 1, "the word" or "the things," he wrongly imagines, like many since his time, that the term might bear as many meanings as are ascribed to its Hebrew equivalent dabar.

These instances may not prove profound Hebrew scholarship, but they indicate familiarity with the language, and they show original or personal investigation in the treat-

[1] This tradition will be vindicated under Matthew's Bible.

[2] קֶשֶׁת

[3] כֹּהֵן

ment of it. He was too earnest and honest a man to simulate the possession of what he had not; but his assertions on points of Hebrew philology are unequivocal, and he well knew that his statements and translations would challenge sharp and unfriendly criticism. His translation of the five books of Moses speaks for itself, for it is clear and simple like the Hebrew which he admired, though occasionally, as in Genesis iv, 3, a meaning is rather wrested than evolved from the words.

In fine, the reader may be interested in a brief selection of quaint and homely renderings. Gen. vi, 4, there were tyrants in the world in those dayes; xxxix, 2, and he (Joseph) was a luckye fellowe; Exod. xxii, 28, thou shalt not rayle upon the goddes; xxviii, 4, a brestlap ephod, a tunycle, a strayte cote; 30, and Aaron shall bear the ensample of the children of Israel upon his herte; 40, an albe of bysse; Lev. vii, 7, dressed upon the gredyren; Deut. xxviii, 5, thyne aulmery and thy store; xxxii, 17, they offered unto felde Devels and not to God; xxxiv, 7, his eye was not dymme nor his chekes abated; Judges v, 22, then they malled the horsses legges that their myghtye coursers lefte praunsynge; viii, 53, and all to brake his brayne panne; xi, 35, thou hast made me stoupe, and arte one of them that trouble me; 2 Sam. xiii, 18, she had a kirtell of diverse coloures; xxii, 39, I wasted them, and so clouted them that they could not aryse; 1 Kings xx, 13, the men of the shires, &c.

The proclamation of 1529 denounced "the chapters of Moses called Genesis, and the chapters of Moses called Deutoronomos." In Offor's MSS. in the British Museum there is a collation of Tyndale's Pentateuch with that of Taverner's edition of 1539.

CHAPTER XIV.

LUTHER and Zuingli met at Marburg on the 30th September, 1529, in melancholy and fruitless conflict, but Tyndale does not seem to have been on the scene. He took up his final abode in Antwerp some time in 1531, probably at the beginning of the year, or perhaps towards the end of the previous year. The horizon was now beginning to darken around him, the clouds were thickening, and star after star was disappearing in the gloom. Fryth, called indifferently by Cranmer "one Fryth," and contemptuously styled by More "young father Fryth," had won the crown of martyrdom. He had slipped over from the Continent on a previous occasion, and returned again; but on his coming to England in the summer of 1532, he was seized, condemned, degraded, and sent to the stake. More had resigned the Great Seal on the 16th of May, and Cranmer had held the primacy for a few months. But Longland, Stokesley, and Gardyner his old college tutor, examined him, the first of the three pronounced sentence, and he "went to the fire" on the 4th of July, 1533, being at the time under thirty years of age. While he was in prison, he bravely defended his opinions, and his writings are said to have enlightened Cranmer, and to have converted Rastall the printer, brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More. The last sentence of the "Order" of the communion service in the Book of Common Prayer is from Fryth. Tyndale's exile by the death of Fryth became drearier, but his spirit wavered not in toil. He had, as he foreboded, the sentence of death in himself, but he improved the brief respite still to work. "As poor," he was "making many rich," even those in his fatherland, of whom he

might truthfully say, "Ye are in our hearts, to die and live with you." He had long felt the defects of his first edition of the New Testament; and had said in the preface, "In time to come (if God hath appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen through negligence, . . . and will endeavour ourselves, as it were, to seethe it better, and to make it more apt for the weake stomakes." Several years had passed away and the promised work had not been done. In the meantime, however, several thousands of copies from foreign presses had been put into immediate circulation in England.

There occurred now a peculiar episode in Tyndale's history. George Joye,[1] a scholar and fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, was now a refugee and "companion in tribulation," for he had fled to the Continent to save his life. He had already been attempting a translation from the Latin text, and had published a Psalter at Strasburg in 1530, the Prophet Isaiah[2] in 1531, and Jeremiah in 1534. At Antwerp he brought out in an evil hour an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, correcting it from the Vulgate.[3] The title is—"The New Testament as it was written and caused to be written by them which herde yt, whom also our Saueowre Christ Jesus commaunded that they shulde preache it unto al creatures." The colophon, which Tyndale in his Vindication singles out, and gives at length, is, "Here endeth the New Testament diligently oversene, and corrected, and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe, by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endhoven. In the yeär of our Lorde M.CCCCC & XXXIIII in August." The matter was kept very secret, and Tyndale, though he was living in Antwerp, does not seem to have been aware of the manœuvre.

[1] More in the preface to his Confutation calls him Joy "the priest, that is wedded now."

[2] Joye describes his version of Isaiah as "Isaye speakinge playne Englissche."

[3] A copy is in the Grenville Library, British Museum. It has no notes, heads of chapters, or prologues; the printing is fair, but the spelling is bad.

Tyndale was now left alone, and in his sad solitude had been busy revising his translation, which was published in November, and imprinted at Antwerp by Martin Emperowr.[1] The title indicates its nature and suggests its necessity,—"The New Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greek." Tyndale in his "address yet once more to the Christian Reader," warns with solemn severity against Joye's production. "Thou shalt understand, most dear reader, when I had taken in hand to look over the New Testament again, and to compare it with the Greek, and to mend whatsoever I could find amiss, and had almost finished the labour, George Joye secretly took in hand to correct it also, by what occasion his conscience knoweth, and prevented me, in so much that his correction was printed in great number, ere mine began. When it was spied and word brought me, though it seemed to divers others that George Joye had not used the office of an honest man, seeing he knew that I was correcting it myself, neither did walk after the rules of the love and softness which Christ and His disciples teach us, how that we should do nothing of strife to move debate, or of vainglory, or of covetousness; yet I took the thing in worth, as I have done divers other in time past, as one that have more experience of the nature and disposition of that man's complexion, and supposed that a little spice of covetousness and vainglory (two blind guides) had been the only cause that moved him so to do; about which things I strive with no man, and so followed after and corrected forth, and caused this to be printed without surmise or looking on his correction." That his work should be tampered with in any way by a careless or unscholarly editor, and the trick studiously concealed from him all the while, must have deeply wounded him. To have wantonly touched and retouched a common treatise without authority was wrong; but it was an act of no common daring so to handle the translation which Tyndale regarded as the labour and crown of his life, on which also rested his critical repute and his means of blessing the English people. Joye's knowledge that Tyndale was diligently working at a revision, was

[1] Sometimes spelled Lempereur.

an aggravation of the offence, for in such a case "he used not the office of an honest man." "When the printing of mine was almost finished, one brought me a copy and showed me so many places in such wise altered that I was astonied, and wondered not a little what fury had driven him to make such change, and to call it a diligent correction." Joye did not affix Tyndale's name to the reprint, though the book was really his with some changes, none of any value or suggested by the original, but only inserted to eke out the sense by unneeded and clumsy supplements. Many of these alterations are, as he confesses, from the Vulgate, and he aimed at "giving many words the pure and native signification." The result of his effort is a poor, marred, and diluted version. Tyndale argues that Joye should have put his own name to the book, "as it was not expedient for the edifying of the unity of the faith of Christ that whosoever will, shall, by his own authority, take another man's translation and put out and in and change at pleasure, and call it a correction." Joye, in his own account, distinguishes between the greater and the minor corrections; in his own phrase, he had "mended a few certain doubtful and dark places," though, at the same time, he avows, "I have made many changes." Nay, he had the hardihood to aver that he met in Tyndale's version with "hard sentences that no reason could be gathered of them, whether it was by the ignorance of the first translator or of the printers," and that he had made such places "plain from the Latin text." Yet Joye's version was done so carelessly, that the error in Tyndale's first edition in Mark xiv, 5, "two hundred pence" for "three hundred pence" is unnoticed and unchanged, and he had not even looked into the Vulgate.

Joye calls his book in reply "An Apology made by George Joye to satisfye if it may be William Tyndale, to pourge and defend himself against so many slanderause lies feigned upon him in Tyndale's uncharitable and unsober pistle, &c.—Lord deliver us from lying lips and from a deceitful tongue. I know and believe that the bodies of every dead man shall rise at doomsday." He specially prided himself on his change of a verse "darkly translated," and he had shown his amendment to

Tyndale's scribe, but Tyndale refused it—"though it stand clearer and truer in my correction than in his," and he boldly adds, "let the learned judge." The passage is Acts vi, 1, Tyndale having, "In those dayes, as the nombre of the disciples grewe, there arose a grodge amonge the grekes agaynst the ebrues, because theyr widdowes were despysed in the dayly ministration." Joye's version is, "In these dayes, the nombre of the disciples grewe, there arose a grudge amonge the grekes agaynst the ebrues, because theyr pore nedy were neglege in the dayly almose dealinge."[1] The "Apology," for he was not afraid to answer Tyndale for "all his high learning," is dated 28th February, 1535. The story contained in it has some interest, for it gives a good account of the spurious issues.[2] "Thou shalt know that Tyndale, about eight or nine years ago, translated and printed the New Testament in a mean great volume, but yet without kalendar, concordances in the margin, and table in the end. And anon the Dutchmen got a copy, and printed it again in a small volume, adding the calendar in the beginning, concordances in the margin, and the table in the end. But yet for that they had no Englishman to correct the setting, they themselves having not the knowledge of our tongue, were compelled to make many more faults than were in the copy, and so corrupted the book that the simple reader might oft times be tarried, and stick. After this they printed it again, also without a corrector, in a greater letter and volume, with the figures in the Apocalypse, which was therefore much falser than their first. When these two prints (there were of them both about five thousand books printed) were all sold, more than a twelvemonth ago, Tyndale was pricked forth to take the Testament in hand, to print it and

[1] Anderson's Annals, vol. I, p. 396. In 1541, he published a small book against adultery, "printed at London, by George Joye." The motto on the last leaf is 1 Cor. vi, 9-10; and in its translation, for the single epithet "covetous," he has "greedy, covetouse, insaciabl, deceytfull, gatherers;" and for the epithet "extortioners," he has "nor pyllers and pollars."

[2] See Waterland's Letters to Mr. Lewis, Works, vol. VI, p. 305, &c. ed. Van Mildert, Oxford, 1856.

correct it, as he professeth and promiseth to do in the latter end of his first translation. But Tyndale prolonged and deferred to so necessary a thing, and so just desires of many men; in so much that, in the mean season, the Dutchmen printed it again the third time, in a small volume like their first print, but much more false than ever it was before. And yet was Tyndale here called upon again, seeing there were so many false printed books still put forth, and bought up so fast; for now was there given, thanked be God, a little space to breathe and rest unto Christ's Church, after so long and grievous persecution for reading the books. But yet, before this third time of printing the book, the printer desired me to correct it,[1] and I said, 'It were well done, if ye printed them again, to make them truer, and not to deceive our nation with any more false books; nevertheless, I suppose that Tyndale himself will put it forth more perfect and newly corrected, which if he do, yours shall be nought set by, nor never sold.' This notwithstanding, yet they printed them, and that most false, and about two thousand books, and had shortly sold them all. All this long time Tyndale slept, for nothing came from him as far as I could perceive. Then the Dutch began to print them the fourth time, because they saw no man else going about them; and after they had printed the first leaf, which copy another Englishman had corrected for them, they came to me, and desired me to correct them their copies, when I answered as before: 'If Tyndale amend it with so great diligence as he promiseth, yours will never be sold.' 'Yes,' quoth they, 'for if he print two thousand, and we as many, what is so little a number for all England? and we will sell ours better cheap, and, therefore, we doubt not of the sale.' So that I perceived well, and was sure that, whether I had corrected this copy or not, they had gone forth with their work, and had given us two thousand more books falslier printed than ever we had before. Then I thus considered with myself: England hath enough and too many false Testa-

[1] Joye refers to the octavo and ignores the quarto with its marginal furniture. He had wealth of names —Joye, Jaye, Gee, and More adds, "otherwise called Clarke."

ments, and is now likely to have many more; yea, and that whether Tyndale correct his or no, yet shall these, now in hand, go forth uncorrected too, except somebody correct them; and what Tyndale doth, I wot not, he maketh me nothing of his counsel. I see nothing come from him all this long while, wherein, with the help that he hath, that is to say, one both to write it and to correct it in the press, he might have done it thrice since he was moved to do it. For Tyndale, I know well, was not able to do it without such an helper, which he hath ever had hitherto."

Had Joye been contented to reprint Tyndale correctly, he would have conferred a benefit on all English readers, but he was snared by his own ambition, and he failed, as so often happens to improvers in painting and architecture. He acted doubly, to say the least of it, and his charge of indolence against Tyndale contradicts all that we know of his busy existence. But his words imply that several surreptitious and badly printed editions of the New Testament had been issued, and had he sent from the press another edition without the natural and numerous blunders ascribed by him to the foreign printers, he would have earned hearty thanks. But his work brought obloquy upon him, for it was Tyndale's without his name, and disfigured, too, by changes that could never have got the translator's sanction.

One special translation by Joye, Tyndale felt obliged to protest against, the change of the word resurrection and the employment in its room of "life after this," and similar phrases, as in Matthew xxii, 30, 31, and Mark xii, though he retained it in cases where the rising of the body is distinctly intended, as in 1 Corinthians xv, and Philippians iii. Joye and Tyndale had often disputed about the nature of the soul-life, between death and the resurrection, and Tyndale had manifested impatience at Joye's arguments, "filliping them forth between his finger and his thumb after his wonted disdainful fashion." Joye's view was the common one, that souls pass into a higher life at death. Tyndale did not dispute this doctrine; but his own opinion had wavered, for he said in his controversy with More, "the souls of the dead lie and

sleep till doomsday." But he had now obtained clearer conceptions, and he "protests before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and before the universal congregation that believeth in him, that he held and maintained it in perfect accordance with Scripture." Tyndale's more recent view is in harmony with Scripture, which teaches not simply the immortality of the soul, but the immortality of man, asserts that Christ came not to save souls as a portion of our nature, but to save human beings; lays far more stress on the resurrection than our popular theology supposes; looks on the separate existence of the soul after death as an insignificant parenthesis in our existence, and takes almost no notice of it when it is out of the physical organism created for it; implies that an unembodied spirit, whatever be its brightness, happiness, and service in the Divine presence is imperfect; and sets before us the last day as the epoch of our glorification, when our nature in all its spheres shall be perfected in Christ, and prepared for, and admitted into everlasting blessedness. Tyndale's words in his Protestation are, "Nevertheless, I confess openly, that I am not persuaded that they be already in the full glory that Christ is in, or the elect angels of God are in." Tyndale, repeating the unfounded accusation that he had hastily made against Sir Thomas More, hints that covetousness might mingle with George Joye's motives for interfering with his work, but the implied charge falls to the ground. The printers offered him a remuneration of threepence a sheet of thirty-two pages, and he closed the hard bargain at fourpence halfpenny. His own curious account is that, "the printer came to me agen, and offred me two stuvers and a halfe for the correcking of every sheet of the copye; which folden contayneth sixteen leaves; and for three stuvers, which is fourpense halpeny sterling, I promised to do it. So that in al I had for my labour but fourteen shylyngis flemesshe." And he affirms that had it not been for the goodness of the deed, he would not have done it for five times that sum. There is no record of Tyndale's receiving money for any of his works; but Joye rebuts the charge of covetousness by

asserting that "Tyndale took ten pounds for his correction." Luther complains that all he received was often a single copy of a Book on its publication, while other writers, even translators, frequently got an angel for every eight leaves. But in one of his casual utterances Joye merits our thanks: "In good faith, as for me I had as lief put the truth into the text as in the margent; and except the gloss expound the text, or where the text is plain enough, I had as lief leave such frivole glosses clean out. I would the Scripture were so purely and plainly translated, that it needed neither gloss nor scholia, so that the reader might once swim without a cork." It is difficult to say whether Joye means by these words to deprecate Tyndale's marginal references; but the statement certainly involves a momentous truth, and shows that he had just ideas of the general nature of a good translation.

That Joye was not devoid of ambition appears incidentally from Tyndale's postscript to his second letter to Fryth, relating that "George Joye at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king and another to the new queen, with a letter to N. for to deliver them, and to purchase licence, that he might go through the whole Bible. Out of that is sprung the noise of the new Bible, and out of that is the great seeking for English Books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest that should print." Joye had some malice in him too, for he ventures to say in his "Apology," in spite of the eulogy which he had pronounced upon Tyndale's learning, "that he wondered how Tyndale could compare the translation with Greek, sith himself is not exquisitely seen therein." And not only so, but he accuses Tyndale of praising his own Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (1532) "so highly, that forsooth, my ears glowed to hear him, and all the while it was Luther that made it, Tyndale only but translating and powdering it here and there with his own fantasies."[1] Tyndale tells Fryth in his letter that "George Joye would have put forth a treatise 'on the Sacrament,' but I have stopped him as yet; what he will do, if he get money, I wot not." But he did

[1] Apology, sig. F, III, b.

publish so smart an attack on Bishop Gardyner's "False Articles" that the bishop was obliged to answer it. Joye was afterwards unjustly accused, both in Antwerp and in England, of being privy to the plans for the apprehension of Tyndale. "His friends greatly blamed him and abused him falsely and wrongfully," so that he left Antwerp, and went to Embden, where he published the "Subversion of More's faulse foundation," &c. In 1545 he published at Geneva an Exposition of Daniel, and, returning to England, he died in 1553.

Tyndale's revised New Testament, in the preface to which he exposed George Joye, came out in 1534, the title being "The Newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale, and fyneshed in the yere of oure Lord God M.D. & XXXIIIJ, in the moneth of November." W. T. to the Christen reader, fills seventeen pages; a prologue to the four Evangelists, four pages; W. T. yet once more, &c., nine pages. A table of the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays, occupies sixteen pages; and there are "some things added to fill up the leffe withal," consisting of five pages. The second title runs, "The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp, by Marten Emperowr, Anno MDXXXIIII." A page has thirty-three lines. In this edition not only are prologues prefixed to the several books, but the church lessons are also marked, and there is a translation of the "Epistles," taken out of the Old Testament, which "are read in the church, after the use of Salisbury, upon certain days of the year." These "Epistles" include seventy-eight verses from the Pentateuch, fifty-one from 1st Kings, Proverbs, and Canticles; one hundred and forty-seven from the prophetical books, chiefly Isaiah; and forty-three from the Apocrypha, in excerpts from Esther, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, no less than six selections being from the latter book. This spontaneous work shows that Tyndale did not hold such strong views about the Apocrypha as his biographer, Mr. Anderson, ascribes to him; nay, Mr. Anderson unaccountably omits altogether the passages from the Apocrypha, when he gives a list of the places in the Old Testament translated by Tyndale.

In the Protestation, or, as he calls it, "William Tyndale yet once more unto the Christian Reader," he speaks in the fulness

of a heart in which love for the truth and for the diffusion of it in his fatherland had absorbed every other emotion. "Moreover, I take God to witness (which alone seeth the heart) to record to my conscience, beseeching Him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote, of all that I have written throughout my book, aught of an evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the Church of Christ, or to be author of any sect, or to draw disciples after me, or that I would be esteemed or had in price above the least child that is born. Also my part be not in Christ, if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach; and also if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin and other men's, indifferently beseeching God to convert us all, and to take His wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to all other men as to mine own soul; caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in; for the king and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son.

"As concerning all I have translated or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it, for that purpose I wrote it, even to bring them to a knowledge of the Scripture; and as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it; and if in any place the Word of God disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and His congregation. And where they find faults, let them show it me if they be nigh, or write to me if they be far off; or write openly against it, or improve it; and I promise them, if I perceive that their reasons conclude, I will confess mine ignorance openly."

The revision fully bears out Tyndale's honest and noble profession. In it the Vulgate is forsaken oftener than in the first edition. Thus, he inserts the Doxology in Matthew vi, 13. Erasmus had admitted it in his fourth edition of 1527, which, however, Tyndale does not seem to have used. Some erroneous renderings remain unchanged, as "backbiter," in Ephesians iv, 27; and he gives this rendering also in the conclusion of his prologue to St. Matthew, and in the "Obedience of a Christian Man"; "founde in his aparrell as a man," Phil. ii, 8; "honestly apparelled," 1 Timothy iii, 2; "lordes over the

parishes," 1 Peter v, 3. But every verse bears marks of a careful treatment. The minuter alterations show the attention and taste of a painstaking scholar, labouring to bring his translation as close as possible to the original. His own scholarship had improved during the last nine years, and he had profited by his experience as a translator. He could now enter more deeply into the spirit of the Greek text, and, feeling its wondrous beauty and compactness, he became endowed with the power of seizing minuter shades and more delicate turns of thought, and of giving them a more apt and felicitous rendering. No change to the better was beneath his notice, whatever might contribute to clearness and vigour he at once laid hold of. He felt that, in the book he was translating, not only were the "lamps of pure gold," but even "the snuffers and the snuff dishes" were of the same precious metal—not to be dimmed or tarnished by any careless human handling. Many of the changes introduced by him keep their place in our present New Testament, and that after having passed through several revisions in the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops'. The following collation is a proof and sample:—

Verse	1526. MATTHEW V.	1534.
1	disciples cam vnto hym.	disciples came to hym.
9	mayntayners of peace.	peacemakers.
11	men shall revyle you.	men revyle you.
13	if the salt be once unsavery.	yf ye salt have lost hir saltness.
„	but to be caste oute at the dores, & that men treade it vnder fete.	but to be cast oute, & to be troaden vnder fote of men.
15	all them which are.	all that are.
16	se that youre light.	let your light.
17	to disannull.	to destroye.
19	shall teache.	teacheth.
„	shall observe & teache them, that persone shalbe called greate.	observeth & teacheth, ye same shal be called greate.
21	whosoever shall kill.	whosoever killeth.
22	But whosoever shall saye vnto his brother thou fole.	But whosoever sayeth, thou fole.
23	eny thynge agaynst thee.	ought agaynst the.
24	reconcile thy silfe.	be reconcyled.
25	at once.	quicklye.

Verse	1526. MATTHEW V.	1534.
25	thine adversary at once.	thyne adversary quicklye.
28	eyeth a wyfe.	looketh on a wyfe.
31	a testymonyall of her.	a testymonyall also of the.
35	the grete king.	that greate kynge.
36	one heer whyte or blacke.	one whyte heer, or blacke.
39	ye withstond not wronge.	ye resist not wronge.
,,	But yf a man.	But whosoever.
40	and take thy coote from the.	and take away thy coote.
45	youre hevenly Father.	your father that is in heaven.
46	Yf ye shall love them.	Yf ye love them.

MATTHEW VI.

1	youre father in heven.	youre father which is in heven.
7	But when ye praye.	And when ye praye.
,,	gentyls.	hethen.
12	as we forgeve them which traspas vs.	as we forgeve oure trespacers.
13	Leede vs not into temptacion, but delyvre vs from yvel. Amen.	And leade vs not into temptacion but delyver vs from evell. For thyne is the kingdome and the power and the glorye for ever. Amen.
16	that hit myght apere vnto men that they faste.	that they myght be sene of men how they faste.
21	there are youre hertes also.	there will youre hertes be also.
22	The light off thy body.	The light of the body.
,,	ys full of light.	shalbe full of light.
24	he shall lene the one.	he shall lene to the one.
25	what rayment ye shall weare.	what ye shall put on.
26	Are ye not better than they?	Are ye not moche better then they?
28	Behold the lyles.	Considre the lylies.
34	Care not therfore for the daye foloynge; For the daye foloynge shall care ffor yt sylfe. Eche dayes trouble ys sufficient for the same silfe day.	Care not then for the morow, but let the morow care for it selfe; for the day present hath ever ynough of his awne trouble.

MATTHEW VII.

1	Judge not lest ye be judged.	Judge not that ye be not judged.
4	suffre me to plucke oute a moote oute off thyne eye.	suffre me to plucke oute the moote oute of thyne eye.
9	which wolde proffer his sonne a stone if he axed him breed.	which if his sonne axed hym breade wolde offer him a stone.

1526.	MATTHEW VII.	1534.
Verse		
11	them that axe off hym.	them that axe hym.
14	For strayte ys the gate.	But strayte is the gate.
21	he that fulfilleth my father's will.	he that dothe my father's will.
22	And in thy name have we not caste oute devyls? And in thy name have we nott done many miracles?	And in thy name have caste oute devyls? And in thy name have done many miracles?
25	and it was not over throwen.	and it fell not.
26	doth not the same.	doth them not.
27	and it was over throwen.	and it fell.

GALATIANS I.

1	congregacion.	congregacions.
5	for ever. Amen.	for ever and ever. Amen.
10	Seeke nowe the faveour off men, or off God?	Preache I mannes doctrine or Godes?
13	ye have heerde.	For ye have hearde.
„	in tymes past.	in tyme past.
14	more fervently mayntayned the tradicions.	more fervent mayntener of the tradicions.
18	vnto Peter.	to se Peter.
24	glorifyed god in me.	glorified God on my behalffe.

CHAPTER II.

1	I went agayne.	I went vp agayne.
2	I went by.	I went vp by.
„	which are.	which were.
9	& as sone as James, Cephas, & Jhon, which semed to be pillares, perceaved the grace thatt was geven vnto me, they gave to me & Barnabas their hondes.	& therfore when they perceaved the grace that was geven vnto me, then James, Cephas, & John, which semed to be pilers, gave to me & Barnabas the ryght hondes.
11	When Peter.	And when Peter.
14	To folowe the Jewes?	to live as do the Jewes?
16	and we have beleved.	and therfore we have beleved.
„	because that noo flesshe shal be justified by the dedes off the lawe.	because that by the dedes of the lawe no flesshe shal be justified.
20	the lyfe.	For the lyfe.
21	then is Christ deed in vayne.	then Christ dyed in vayne.

Verse	1526. GALATIANS III.	1535.
4	ye have suffred in vayne, yf it be so that ye have suffred in vayne.	there ye have suffred in vayne, if that be vayne.
7	They which are of fayth, are the children.	the same are the chyldren.
8	The scripture.	For the scripture.
„	and shewed.	and therfore shewed.
13	Christ hath.	But Christ hath.
14	that we might.	& that we might.
16	thy seedes.	the seedes.
17	confermed of god.	confermed afore of God.
19	vnto which seede the promes.	to which ye promess.
21	Yff there had bene.	Howbeit yf ther had bene.
27	put Christ on you.	put on Christ.
28	nether greke.	nether gentyle.
„	nether fre.	ner fre.
„	nether woman.	ner woman.
„	for all are one.	but ye are all one.

CHAPTER IV.

5	shulde receave.	myght receave.
8	not goddes.	no goddes.
10	the dayes.	dayes.
11	I fear offe you.	I am in feare of you.
12	hurte me.	not hurte me at all.
13	ye knowe wele how that.	ye knowe how.
14	the flesshe.	my flesshe.
15	digged out youre awne eyes.	plucked out youre awne eyes.
16	Am I so greatly become.	Am I therefore become.
30	Cast a waye.	put awaye.

CHAPTER V.

5	We loke for & hope to be justified by the sprete which commeth of fayth.	We loke for & hope in the sprite, to be justified thorow fayth.
10	In god.	In the Lorde.
11	I then suffre.	I then yet suffre.
12	sondred.	seperated.
20	lawynge.	variaunce.
„	parte takynges.	sectes.
21	shall not be the inheritours.	shall not inherite.
22	off the sprete.	of sprete.
23	is there no lawe.	there is no lawe.

	1526. CHAPTER VI.	1534.
Verse		
2	Beare one another's burthen.	Beare ye one another's burthen.
3	yff a man seme.	If eny man seme.
8	in the flesshe.	in his flesshe.
9	Let vs do good, and let vs not faynte.	Let vs not be wery of well doynge.

Several of these changes may not be improvements, but in the great majority of them there is an apparent effort to secure greater accuracy of rendering, and more clearness and concinnity of expression.

Many of Tyndale's terms have been changed in the course of successive revisions. Similitude has passed into parable, health into salvation, counterfeit into follow, favour into grace, congregation into church, hallowed loaves into unleavened bread, Easter into passover (except in one instance), it fortuned or it chanced into it came to pass, love into charity, dearth into famine, captain into centurion, laude into praise, &c.

George Harman, of Antwerp, had, as recorded on a previous page, been imprisoned along with his wife,[1] at the instance of Hacket the English envoy and the authorities at home, and he had been expelled from the "English House." The Lords of Antwerp released him in February, 1529, after seven months confinement, and some years afterwards he visited England, and found a patron in Queen Anne Boleyn who had been crowned on the 1st of June, 1533. A letter from her to Crumwell, dated 13th May, 1534, "at my Lord's Manor at Greenwich,"[2] and beginning with "Anne the Queen," has been preserved, telling what penalty he had suffered "in the time of the late Lord Cardinal'; boldly setting forth the crime charged upon him that, "he like a good Christian man, both did with his goods and policy help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English;" and asking him "to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship, and the sooner at our request."[3] Tyndale

[1] See p. 178.

[2] Cotton MSS., Cleopatra, E. V., fol. 330. Strype's Annals, vol. I, part 1, p. 171.

[3] The "Lady Anne" had been involved in a perilous adventure in 1529, with a copy of Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian Man," and

had been informed of this royal interposition, and as a fitting memorial of his earnest gratitude, he threw off a copy of his revised edition on vellum, with beautifully illuminated capitals, but without name, dedication, or preface, and sent the volume to her Majesty. This Testament, not in the original binding, is now in the British Museum, and when the book is kept firmly shut, there may be read in dim red letters on the fore-edge of the leaves, on the top Anna, on the centre Regina, and on the bottom Angliæ.

Tyndale published another edition in 1535. Joye in his Apology, intimates that it was then in hand, but before it was printed the translator was betrayed and imprisoned. There were indeed two editions, in 1535, the one no doubt Tyndale's own work, and the other a surreptitious issue. The one edition, 1534-1535, has a second title dated 1534, which had been printed with the text at the end of that year, the preliminary leaves, as being the last portion of the volume thrown off, having the date 1535, and on the title, "yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale." This edition has a monogram G. H. on the second title, and its genuineness may be assumed from the fact that its readings are usually adopted in Matthew's Bible. Having been for a brief period the translator's "own familiar friend," Matthew must have selected it as Tyndale's last and best production. The other edition "fynesshed" in 1535, and "dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale," is to all intents that of 1534, but with 833 changes, few of which, however, can be called scholarly emendations.[1] The following collation affords a specimen, and is a portion of Mr. Fry's monograph on the subject, 1 Corinthians being selected:—

had brought upon herself the suspicion and resentment of Wolsey, a short time before his fall—the Seals being taken from him on the 18th of October.

[1] See Mr. Fry's monograph, prepared with marvellous minuteness and accuracy—"Three New Testaments of William Tyndale, that of 1534, 1535, 1535-1534, and the text of Matthew's first edition"—a portion of a larger work on Tyndale New Testaments. There are some misprints and omissions in Matthew.

COLLATION OF ED. 1534, GH 1535-34, AND MATTHEW 1537.

Ch.	Ver.			
1	11	'34 GH ... M	(my brethren) of you by them	'35 ... (my brethren of you by them)
—	24	'34 GH ... M	and the wisdom of God	'35 ... and wisdom of God
2	4	'34	preaching were not with GH	'35 M preaching was not with
—	7	'34 GH '35 ...	ordained before the world	M ordained before the word
—	8	'34	the rulers of the world GH	'35 M the rulers of this world
3	6	'34	God gave increase ... ... GH	'35 M God gave the increase
—	7	'34	which gave the increase GH	'35 M that gave the increase
—	20	'34 GH ... M	God knoweth the thoughts...	'35 ... God knoweth thoughts
—	22	'34	other, 4 *times in the verse* GH	'35 M either, 4 *times in the verse*
5	4	'34 GH' ... M	in the name of our Lord ...	'35 ... the name of our Lord
—	8	'34 GH ... M	and wickedness	'35 ... *omitted*
6	5	'34 GH ... M	I say to * * not one at all ...	'35 ... I lay to * * not one all
7	6	'34	not of commandment ... GH	'35 M and not of commandment
—	33	'34 GH ... M	he that hath married	'35 ... he that had married
—	37	'34 GH ... M	his virgin doeth well	'35 ... his virginite doeth well
8	3	'34 GH ... M	if any man love God	'35 ... if any man loveth God
—	7	'34 GH '35 ...	eat as of a thing offered	M eat as a thing offered
—	10	'34	are offered unto the idol GH	'35 M are offered to the idol
9	1	'34	are not ye my work ... GH	'35 M are ye not my work
—	8	'34 GH ... M	or saith not the law	'35 ... saith not the law
—	11	'34 GH ... M	is it a great thing	'35 ... it is a great thing
—	13	'34 GH ... M	have their finding...	'35 ... have they finding
—	14	'34 GH ... M	so also did the Lord	'35 ... so did the Lord
—	—	'34 GH ... M	should live of the gospel ...	'35 ... *omitted*
—	21	'34 GH ... M	without law became I ...	'35 ... without the law became I
10	19	'33 GH ... M	is offered to images	'35 ... is offered to the images
—	20	'34	I say that those things GH	'35 M I say that these things
—	21	'34 GH '35 ...	cannot be partakers	M cannot be the partakers
—	27	'34 GH ... M	bid you to a feast	'35 ... bid you to the feast
—	32	'34	ye give occasion ... ... GH	'35 M ye give none occasion
11	13	'34 GH ... M	that a woman pray	'35 ... that a woman prayed
—	25	'34	this cup is the new testament of my blood GH	'35 M *omitted*
—	—	'34 GH '35 ...	in the remembrance	M in remembrance
—	29	'34 GH ... M	maketh no difference	'35 ... maketh not difference
—	31	'34 GH '35 ...	we had truly judged	M we have truly judged
—	33	'34 GH '35 ...	tarry one for another	M tarry one another
12	3	'34 GH '35 ...	but by the Holy Ghost	M but the Holy Ghost
—	8	'34 GH ... M	to another is given	'35 ... to another given
—	12	'34 GH ... M	though they be many yet are but one body	'35 ... *omitted*
—	23	'34	members of that body ... GH	'35 M members of the body
—	24	'34 GH ... M	hath given most honour ...	'35 ... hath given more honour
14	6	'34 GH '35 ...	unto you other by revelation ...	M to you other by revelation
—	29	'34 GH '35 ...	let other judge	M let the other judge
—	30	'34 GH ... M	be made to another	'35 ... be made on another
15	2	'34	by which also ye are ... GH	'35 M by the which also ye are
—	10	'34	not I but the grace ... GH	'35 M yet not I but the grace
—	12	'34	from death ** from death GH	'35 M from the dead ** of the dead

COLLATION—*Continued.*

Ch.	Ver.									
15	13	'34	...	...	...	rising again from death	GH	'35	M	rising again of the dead
—	15	'34	...	...	...	rise not up again... ...	GH	'35	M	rise not again
—	20	'34	...	...	...	Christ risen from death	GH	'35	M	Christ risen from the dead
—	21	'34	...	...	...	resurrection from death	GH	'35	M	resurrection of the dead
—	28	'34	...	...	...	they put all things under	GH	'35	M	that put things under
—	29	'34	GH	...	M	if the dead rise not at all	...	'35	...	if the dead rise not all
—	33	'34	GH	...	M	malicious speakings ...	...	'35	...	malicious speaking
—	34	'34	GH	'35	...	this unto your rebuke	...	...	M	this to your rebuke
—	43	'34	GH	...	M	and "ryseth" in honour	...	'35	...	and "rysed" in honour
—	50	'34	...	...	...	corruption inheriteth ...	GH	'35	M	doth corruption inherit
16	3	'34	GH	...	M	allow by your letters ...	...	'35	...	allow by our letters
—	12	'34	GH	'35	...	his mind was not at all	...	...	M	his mind was not all

The edition of 1535 is also marked by peculiar spelling. Tyndale had promised at Sodbury that "if God spared his life, he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than a priest." This strange spelling has been supposed, by Mr. Walter among others, to be a conformity to the rustic dialect of Gloucestershire in fulfilment of his early pledge. But such a theory fails of proof, and the probability is that the flat diphthongal orthography was the fruit of Flemish printing, copy being read off to a compositor who did not know English. Similar pronunciations are yet common in Flanders, and might also have been heard, not many years ago, in some parts of Morayshire. The following are a few specimens:—First, an *e* put after an *o*, which is the commonest form—aboede, boeke, cloeke. Second, an *e* put after an *a*, which is also very common—aege, aere, maey, laey, faether. Third, sometimes the *o* is doubled—booth, boones, coostes, oonly, hoow, stoone, loo for lo, whoom, moor, moost. Fourth, sometimes an *e* after a *u*—ruele, ruelers, truethe. Fifth, sometimes an *a* after an *o*—moane for mone. Sixth, an *a* after an *e*—hear for her. Seventh, sometimes *ee*—heere for here. There are other forms, as te for the, tappe for toppe, tought for taught, vyneyaerde for veneyarde, woeld for would, woerde for worde, woere for where, yought for youth.

CHAPTER XV.

AFTER the publication of the Pentateuch, Tyndale was proceeding with the Hebrew Historical Books, when his work was brought to an abrupt termination.

Vaughan had been at a previous period instructed to persuade Tyndale to return to England under promise of protection. But he intimated to Crumwell, 26th January, 1530-31, that the task was hopeless, for "Tyndale daily heareth so many things from thence which feareth him." "Would God," he adds, "he were in England." There was at that time no covert design to entrap him, or to coax him to come over and then seize him. Vaughan afterwards informs the king, 17th April, that he had an interview with Tyndale in the fields near Antwerp; that he had avowed his fervent and patriotic loyalty, and his reluctance to come home, because the king would not be able to keep his promise to protect him against the bishops, for they affirmed that no faith should be kept with heretics. Vaughan's despatch got him into trouble, as he was supposed to be favourably inclined towards the exile, and Crumwell replied, "Withdraw your affection from the said Tyndale, and all his sort; the king's highness would be much joyous of his conversion."[1] Vaughan again met Tyndale, and thus reports his words: "If his majesty would grant only a bare text of Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other Christian princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty, I shall make faithful promise

[1] Vaughan seems to have thought that George Constantine had given Crumwell some secret information against him.

never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same; but immediately to repair unto his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his grace will, so that this be obtained. And till that time I will abide the asperity of all chances, whatsoever shall come, and endure my life in as much pains as it is able to bear and suffer."[1] The Translator, in defiance of mighty and malignant influences, was still unshaken; his courage remained firm and unflinching amidst many perils closing surely and darkly about him. He rose to sublimity of resolution as his end drew nigh, for his words were no idle bravado—no mere self-glorifying ejaculation, as the event was so soon to prove.

During his abode at Antwerp, Tyndale continued his studious life, giving himself wholly to his book, taking his "pastime" on Monday and Saturday; on the first of these days visiting and relieving all the refugees, "seeking every corner and hole," and imparting liberal charities to the poor and distressed, for he had "a considerable yearly exhibition" from the merchants. On the Lord's Day he held worship in private with such of the merchants as might assemble "in some chamber or other, and read a parcel of Scripture." He could not join in the public Catholic worship, and Sir Thomas More as usual puts it strongly, "He neither crieth out, nor halloweth, nor baiteth, nor buzzeth, as they say that know him; he saith none at all, neither matins, evensong, nor mass." A story told by Foxe, and occupying a special place in a remarkable book, needs not be repeated at length.[2] It tells that he was taken to see a conjurer at Antwerp, who did many marvellous things, and "brought to table by his art all that could be desired" of wines and delicious fruits; but that in the Reformer's presence he "wearied himself with spells, charms, and incantations," and all the resources of "hellish skill" in vain, so that he cried out in great wrath that

[1] Cotton MSS., Galba, b. X, fol. 5, 6.

[2] "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," by George Sinclair, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh, 1685. Reprinted at Edinburgh, 1871. The story is Relation xxii, p. 154.

there was "one in the company that hindered his work." The magician could not do his dexterous manipulations under the sharp eyes of the shrewd and unsusceptible Englishman.

Vaughan was a kind-hearted man, and boldly appealed to the king to extend mercy to reformers like Barnes and Latimer, intimating that the fear of punishment sent many fugitives to the Continent, and hardened them in their opinions, so that by this means, "it is likely that new Tyndales shall arise, or worse than he." Another agent was therefore selected to work out a sterner purpose than to plead with the Translator to return to England—the object now being to apprehend him on the Continent. Tyndale had been aware of his peril, and may have left Antwerp for a time, continually shifting his residence, and some have supposed that he went for a brief period to Nuremberg. Sir Thomas Elyot, a friend of Sir Thomas More, undertook the degrading task of seizing him; and, in a despatch to the Duke of Norfolk, admits that his stay at Brussels, in obedience to the royal mandate to seize the exile, may be protracted—"considering that like as he is in wit movable, semblably so is his person unable to come by;" and that aware of the king's order to arrest him, "he withdraweth him into such places where he thinketh to be farthest out of danger."[1] Information about him had been for a considerable period carefully sought for in England by the bishops and Sir Thomas More, and in examining "any poor man under coram," who had been in Antwerp, they put such questions anent Tyndale as, "where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparell he went, what resort he had," &c.[2] Suspicion so haunted him, that he was in doubt of Vaughan's purpose at their first interview; and the envoy describes him as being "somewhat fearful of me, lest I should pursue him. He took leave of me, and departed from the town, and I toward the town. Howbeit, I suppose, that he afterwards returned to the town by another way." The "wise man's eyes are in his head," and Tyndale informs Fryth, "My Lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard and black reddish head, and

[1] Cotton MSS., Vitell., xxi, fol. 58. [2] Foxe V, p. 121, Registers of London.

who was once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not." Sir Thomas Elyot writes, in November, 1533, "I gave many rewards, partly to the emperor's servants, to get knowledge, partly to such as by whose means I trusted to apprehend Tyndale." In the prosecution of the futile enterprise he had contracted considerable debts.

From about the middle of 1534 Tyndale had lived in Antwerp, with Thomas Poyntz, one of the English merchant adventurers. But the secret of his residence in the "English house," was discovered, and a man named Philips, son of a "customer" at Poole, and Gabriel Donne, "won his confidence." The first of the two passed as a gentleman, and the second as his servant. "In the wily subtleties of this world Tyndale was simple and inexpert," and when Poyntz got suspicious and questioned him, the innocent victim pronounced "Philips an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable"—yielding to Tyndale's arguments and opinions. Tyndale even lent him money; on the very morning of his capture he gave him the loan of forty shillings, it being asked as a pledge of mutual confidence. These spies now procured the necessary powers, and then, when he least expected it, trading on his unsuspecting nature they got him into their power by nefarious treachery. As he was leaving the house, taking the traitor familiarly with him, to dine at the dwelling of a friend, Philips had him arrested by means of lurking accomplices, who "pitied to see his simplicity." The contrivers of the plot are unknown. Halle darkly hints, "Tyndale was betrayed and taken, as many said, not without the help and procurement of some bishops of this realm."[1] That some ecclesiastical influence had been at the vengeful work may be naturally inferred. Donne was a monk of Stratford Abbey, near London. On his return from the Continent he was appointed Abbot of Buckfastleigh in Devonshire; but he yielded his abbey in 1539, and got a pension of £120 a year. He was afterwards a prebendary of St. Paul's, and keeper of the spiritualities of the

[1] Halle's Chronicle, p. 818, London, 1809.

diocese till 1550. Philips had two benefices and a prebend in England. He "persisted in person with constant diligence" going from Louvain to Brussels and to Vilvorde, and urged on the process against Tyndale, which, from Crumwell's influence, might have fallen asleep. A warrant being sent across to arrest him for treasonable language, he could not return to England, and soon fell into poverty. He went to Italy to secure the patronage of Cardinal Pole; but, being suspected as a spy, he was roughly barred from entering the Venetian territory.

Poyntz had no doubt that the arrest was made "by procurement out of England," but unknown to the king's grace. Tyndale was arrested on the 23rd or 24th of May, 1535, and conveyed to the castle of Vilvorde, about eighteen miles from Brussels. His imprisonment lasted a year and one hundred and thirty-five days. There had been unfounded rumours of the king's interference. Though Marshe, the governor of the English House, had been indifferent at first, the English merchants interposed, and applied to the Regent Mary, but without effect; a charge of heresy being, under the emperor, as dangerous as one of treason, and the procureur-general, Dufief, was as inexorable as his master. Measures were taken in England to move Crumwell to interfere on the prisoner's behalf, as may be learned from the letter of Tibold, a godson of the English minister, and in the confidence of Cranmer. In a communication, dated the last day of July, he informs Crumwell, "he that did take Tyndale is abiding in Louvain, with whom I did there speak; which doth not only there rejoice of that act, but goeth about to do many more Englishmen like displeasure." The betrayer, he adds, "was greatly afraid of the resentment of the Antwerp merchants, who will lay watch to do him some displeasure privily;"[1] and he writes to Cranmer, on the last day of July, in reference to other interviews with Harry Philips, "I could not perceive the contrary by his communication but that Tyndale shall die, which he doth follow and procureth with all diligent endeavour, rejoicing much therein, saying

[1] Cotton MSS., British Museum, Galba, B x. Tibold or Theobald was probably sent to make inquiries, among other things, about the arrest.

that he had a commission also to have taken Doctor Barnes[1] and George Joye." Poyntz, writing to his brother John Poyntz of Ockenden in Essex, bears also cordial testimony to the integrity, simple-heartedness, and beneficence of Tyndale, "the which is in prison and like to suffer death. This poor man hath been in my house three quarters of a year; I know that the king has never a truer-hearted subject to his grace this day living. I think he shall be shortly at a point to be condemned; and there are two Englishmen at Louvain busy in translating out of English into Latin those things that may make against him." The earnest interference of Poyntz led to his own incarceration for four months, and when he effected his escape, the keeper of the prison was fined eighty pounds on suspicion of connivance.[2]

During Tyndale's imprisonment his New Testament was passing through the press at home, the enterprise being perhaps patronized by Queen Anne and her party. Berthelet has been long supposed by Ames (Herbert), Anderson, Dibdin, and Cotton, to be the printer of this first New Testament issued in England; but Mr. Bradshaw, of the University Library, Cambridge, assigns it to T. Godfray. The engraved border was in the possession of Godfray before it belonged to Berthelet, and the transfer was not made so early as 1536.[3] If Tyndale had secret intelligence of the preparation of the volume, the news must have filled him with unutterable gladness, and he must have felt a blessed compensation for months and months of exile and peril, in the assurance

[1] But Barnes was now an envoy for the king to the German States. Buckenham was in Louvain too—he that preached the sermon at Cambridge in reply to Latimer, Philips paying all charges.

[2] The entry of the amount of the fine paid "for carelessness and negligence" by the jailor, John Baers, to the counsellor in ordinary of the emperor, and receiver of escheats and fines, &c., may be seen in Demaus, p. 497. Poyntz came back to England, and, on the death of his brother, took possession of the paternal inheritance. He died in 1562, and his escape from prison is noted in his epitaph. The lady of Sir John Walsh, who had Tyndale as a tutor to her children, was a Poyntz of Gloucestershire, of the same lineage as the family in Essex.

[3] Westcott, p. 51, second edition.

that the Blessed Book, which for eleven years had been produced by strangers, and had reached his fatherland in stealthy and circuitous ways, was now printing in the metropolis. The Bodleian Library possesses a copy. Several editions were issued at Antwerp about this time, as may be seen in Anderson's list.

Though Henry hated Luther with a perfect hatred, he had no reason to hate Tyndale. Tyndale was a Yorkist indeed,[1] but the king's mother was Elizabeth of York, the lineal heir; and if he did not approve of the divorce, he certainly would have supported the royal supremacy for the denial of which Fisher and More were both beheaded. The disloyal language of the two spies against the king plainly showed that they belonged to the reactionary party, no member of which could be so deep in the royal confidence as to be trusted with their errand. But Henry had no right to interfere, as he had burned some of the emperor's subjects on a similar charge. Crumwell wrote twice in favour of Tyndale to the Marquis of Bergen-op-Zoom, and to Carondolet, Archbishop of Palermo, and was not listened to. These letters were sent to the care of an English merchant at Antwerp, of the name of Flegge who did what he could; and in sending to Crumwell the answer of the high personages appealed to, he expresses "a hope that it may be to the king's pleasure and yours," implying that the king had acquiesced in his minister's interference for the release of Tyndale.

At this time, Coverdale, under Crumwell's protection, had finished his translation of the entire Bible, to be dedicated, within a brief time after, to King Henry, and at length to be authorized by him. But Tyndale's treatises must have provoked many to hostility, for they were trenchant and unsparing, and bore hard, like his "Practice of Prelates," on the popish priesthood. His arrest and death may be traced in all probability

[1] "They slew the right king, and set up three false kings in a row, Henrys IV, V, VI, by which mischievous sedition, they caused half England to be slain up." Tyndale could not like the Lancastrian kings, for besides being usurpers, two of them had been such persecutors. Works, vol. II, pp. 53, 224, Parker Society edition.

to ecclesiastical malignity, which slowly and secretly compassed its end without caring to consult the king or his ministers, who, from political complications, at home and abroad, were helpless to interpose in favour of any relaxation with Charles or his Regent. There were 72,000 executions in England during Henry's reign, and a life more or less could not be felt by the king or his council to be of any great moment, especially the life of one so friendless and so long absent from the island. One of Tyndale's letters, written in prison to the governor, the Marquis of Bergen-op-Zoom, whose favour for him Crumwell had already asked, has been discovered, and a portion of it has been already quoted. The noble-hearted prisoner was so reduced as in his cold and rags to beg with touching and mournful earnestness, "your lordship, and that by the Lord Jesus, that if I am to remain here during the winter, you will request the procureur to be kind enough to send me from my goods which he has in his possession, a warmer cap, for I suffer extremely from cold in the head, being afflicted with a perpetual catarrh, which is considerably increased in the cell. A warmer coat also, for that which I have is very thin; also a piece of cloth to patch my leggings; my shirts are also worn out. He has also a wollen shirt of mine, if he will be kind enough to send it. I have also with him leggings of thicker cloth for putting on above; he also has warmer caps for wearing at night."[1] At length a commission was named for the trial of Tyndale, and it comprehended four divines from the University of Louvain. There were long written discussions that passed from the prison to Louvain, for Tapper and Lathomus were no mean antagonists. Ruwart Tapper was a subtle scholastic, and Lathomus had attacked Erasmus, and affirmed that a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was not necessary to the study of Scripture. In 1528 the divines of Louvain had sent a letter of congratulation to the Archbishop of St. Andrews on the burning of Patrick Hamilton.[2] Vaughan, who had now returned from England, in a letter to Crumwell from Antwerp, April 13th, expresses some hope for the prisoner. "If now you send me but your letter to the Privy

[1] See p. 211. [2] Foxe, vol. IV, p. 561.

Council, I could deliver Tyndale from the fire; see it come by time, or else it will be too late." The envoy spoke his own wishes, and overrated his influence.

Tyndale could have but little hope himself; for even in England he would have been in serious peril, and he must often have thought in those dreary months of his own words written eight years before: "If they burn me, they shall do none other thing than I look for." His condemnation and martyrdom were certain from the first. His doom was pronounced on the 10th of August, and he was then "degraded, and condemned into the hands of the secular power." On Friday, the 6th of October, 1536, he was first strangled—for the law of the Low Countries was more merciful than that of England—and then burned. At the moment before his death, he cried with fervent zeal and a loud voice at the stake, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." According to Foxe, his life and words produced a deep impression on his jailor, his jailor's daughter, and others who were permitted to visit him. And so died "one, who, for his notable powers and travel, may well be called the apostle of England in this our later age."

And truly Tyndale did an apostle's work, in presenting divine truth to the souls of men, and he was blessed at the same time in suffering all manner of evil during such work with "patience and wonders"—"the signs of an apostle," for he was filled with the true spirit, endowed with gifts that descended from Pentecost, and set apart by a nobler consecration than the laying-on of hands. Men so thoroughly furnished and absorbed in evangelical toil and travail are surely "the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ." To labour for the Divine Master is one phase of conformity to Him who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister"; but to suffer also for Him who yielded His life for us, seals and completes the assimilation. "And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them."

While Wycliffe and Tyndale may have some unavoidable resemblance in their translation of simple historical clauses, the Latin being at the same time a version from the Greek; the following four verses of a peculiar structure will show the independence of Tyndale:—

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE, CHAPTER I, VERSES 1-4.

WYCLIFFE.

Forsothe for manye men enforceden to ordeyne the tellyng of thingis, whiche ben fillid in vs, as thei that seyn atte the bigynnyng, and weren ministris of the word, bitaken, it is seen also to me, hauynge alle thingis diligentli bi ordre, to write to thee, thou best Theofile, that thou knowe the treuthe of tho wordis, of whiche thou art lerned.

TYNDALE.

For as moche as many have taken in hond to compyle a treates off thoo thynges, which are surely knowen amonge vs, even as they declared them vnto vs, which from the begynynge sawe them with their eyes, and were ministers at the doyng: I determined also, as sone as I had searched out diligently all thinges from the begynynge, that then I wolde wryte vnto the, goode Theophilus, that thou myghtest knowe the certente off thoo thinges, whereof thou arte informed.

CHAPTER XVI.

IN his introduction to the first edition of the Novum Instrumentum, or Greek New Testament, Erasmus, while vindicating the right of all to read the Scriptures, and maintaining that they should be translated into all languages, adds as a climax, "and be read and understood by Scots and Irishmen." These nations, though they were to him the lowest in the scale of civilization, might have a translated Bible, and next to them he places Greeks and Saracens. But copies of the Wycliffite version had already been carried into the northern kingdom, and the translation of Tyndale soon found its way into Scotland, probably as early as to England, for Scotland had a close mercantile connection with the Low Countries, especially with the towns of Middleburg and Campvere. Hacket, the English ambassador at Antwerp, who had fallen into such trouble about Tyndale's New Testament, wrote to Wolsey on the 20th of February, 1527, that he had advertised Brian Tuke, on the 4th of January of the same year, that there were "divers merchants of Scotland that bought many of such like books, and took them into Scotland, a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St. Andrews,"[1] adding, "that he had expected to make a seizure at Barrow; but that to his chagrin the ships had left before his arrival."[2] The allusion is

[1] St. Andrews was then the capital of Scotland, and Glasgow ranked only as eleventh in the taxation list of royal burghs. In the date of its charter it is the twenty-first, and St. Andrews the seventh. Its university was founded in 1411, that of Glasgow in 1450.

[2] Cotton MSS., Galba., B. VI, fol. 4.

to Tyndale's Testaments, which he was so anxious to discover, and destroy, and he had also received copies from England in order to identify the version. Hacket's language implies that the practice of carrying away such books in trading vessels had been a common one before it had been distinctly observed and watched. There was as yet in Scotland no prohibition of such literary imports, nor for five years to come, though in 1525 there had been an enactment against "strangers" bringing with them any books of Luther, and in August, 1527, "natives or the king's lieges" are comprehended in the prohibition, the inference being that they had already been engaged in the traffic. Leith, Montrose, and Aberdeen were parts as accessible as St. Andrews, and they were all visited by vessels carrying Tyndale's New Testaments to a ready and secret market.

Patrick Hamilton,[1] born in the city or diocese of Glasgow, the young and intrepid reformer, related by both his parents to the royal blood of Scotland, had returned from the Continent, and begun to preach the Gospel; but going to St. Andrews, on a treacherous invitation of the primate, he was placed under espionage, tried with great pomp on thirteen different articles, and burned before the gate of the College of St. Salvador, the same day on which his judges returned their verdict—Saturday, 28th February, 1528. The burning of the martyr lasted six hours. Campbell, Prior of the Order of Blackfriars, had betrayed him, and now as prosecutor he pressed as the first and special charge against him his confession that "it is lawful for any man to read the word of God, and in special the New Testament." But his martyrdom did not kill the Reformation, and a shrewd friend said to the archbishop, "My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly

[1] His name stands under the year 1528 in a register of Acta Rectoria of the University of Paris as Patricius Hamelto, Glassguensis, Nobilis. His Loci, translated by Fryth at Marburg, were long a popular digest of theology, and went by the name of "Maister Patricks Places." They may be seen in Foxe, vol. IV, p. 563, or in Laing's edition of Knox's Works, vol. I, p. 19. He was present at the inauguration of the University of Marburg, and his name survives on the first page of the Album.

destroy yourselves. If ye will burn them, let it be in how (hollow) cellars, for the reek (smoke) of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."

In October of the same year, Rinck, writing from Cologne to Wolsey, makes the disclosure, already told, that Bibles enclosed in packages, and artfully covered with flax, were by sea "taken into Scotland and England as to the same place, and sold as merely clean paper."[1] As the panic spread, prohibitions became more sweeping and stringent, and among others the bishops issued a ban declaring that the New Testament was neither to be read in the vernacular nor sold. The particulars with allied instances are to be found in a letter of Alexander Ales[2] to King James V. His proper name was Alane, and so it is written in the old registers of the University of St. Andrews. He was a native of Edinburgh, born in 1500. He had been a canon in St. Andrews, and owed his religious change to conversations with Patrick Hamilton during his imprisonment, and was now an exile from Scotland for the "Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ." "Whence," he asks, "shall they hear sound doctrine if they are not allowed at home to read the books of the Gospel?" and he mentions, "that travelling abroad, he had heard of the king or emperor enacting laws against dogmas, but not against the reading of the Scriptures." In a reply to an attack of Cochlæus, he nobly vindicates domestic reading of the Scriptures, which was so common in Germany, "even in many places which have no business with Luther," and he exposes the common trick of confounding all versions of the sacred books with Luther's translation. "I have heard the chief among our

[1] See page 179.

[2] The name Ales was coined for him by Melanchthon, Ἀλήσιος, wanderer, suggested by the similarity of Alane to ἀλείνω. Melanchthon occasionally plays upon the meaning of the name, and in reference to his own troubles fears that he would be forced to "become another Alesius." Though Mr. Anderson will not admit it, there is sufficient proof that Melanchthon helped Alesius in the composition of his letters to the king. The "Wanderer" settled at length as Professor of Divinity at Leipzig, where he died in 1565. Lorimer's Patrick Hamilton, p. 241, Edinburgh, 1857.

preachers declare that this same version, (Tyndale's in Scotland) gave them more light than many commentaries." The restless Cochlæus[1] replied to Ales on the 8th of June, 1533. In the course of his letter he urges the employment of force, after the example of the Bishop of Treves, who had ordered first one bookseller, and then another, to be cast into the Rhone with their pernicious books; asserts that the New Testament of Luther is not the sacred book, but execrable and cursed; is not the Gospel of Christ, but of Satan; and bids the king desist from favouring any version, especially at this time, since the best and most undoubted translation in the vulgar tongue is productive of all possible mischief. The king was not disposed to cruelty, and had more than once interfered in behalf of the oppressed; but he was overborne by such ecclesiastical counsellors as the most profligate Prior Hepburn of St. Andrews, and David Beaton, afterwards the notorious cardinal. Henry Forrest, of Linlithgow, was apprehended and condemned "for nou uther cryme but because he had ane New Testament in Engliss," and in 1533 he was burned at "the North Church style of the Abbey of St. Andrews, that all the people in the shire of Forfar might see the flames." Other executions followed in the next year, for the Scottish ecclesiastics were not behind their English and foreign fellows in blindness, cruelty, and thirst for blood, and therefore Scotland, though it be but a small country, has an illustrious roll of confessors and martyrs.

[1] Cochlæus, in his reply to Morysyn, charges Henry VIII with ingratitude, and complains that royalty had been unmindful of his poverty and his merits. But in September, 1534, he sent a servant to Edinburgh with one of his tracts, *pro Scotiæ regno Apologia*, for there appears this entry in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, September, 1534, "Item, to ane servantt of Cocleus whilk brocht frae his maister ane buyk intitulat. . . . To his reward L.l., that is £50 Scots." Anderson's Annals, vol. II, p. 467. Ales says that, according to the statement of Cochlæus himself, he had been nobly rewarded by the Scottish king, James V, and by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.

COVERDALE.

Not myself, but the truth that in life I have spoken ;
Not myself, but the seed that in life I have sown,
Shall pass on to ages, all about me forgotten
Save the words I have written, the deeds I have done.

'Tis clear, if we refuse
The means so limited, the tools so rude
To execute our purpose, life will fleet,
And we shall fade, and nothing will be done.

CHAPTER XVII.

IN many intellectual and spiritual movements, while one man by his genius, persistence, or bravery towers above his fellows, another often stands by him, somewhat overshadowed by his greater height—second to him, but still essential to the final success of the enterprise. In such a relation stood Paul and Barnabas, Luther and Melanchthon, Calvin and Beza, Tyndale and Coverdale. The translation of the Bible was the chief end of Tyndale's existence. The purpose was his own, formed in his inmost soul, and in the intensity of a great and ardent nature it was inwrought like a subtle influence into all the fibres of his being, fostered apart from all minor pursuits with a "godly jealousy," and pressing into its service all learning and all time. He could not be wiled away from his work, except to interpret it and defend it, and he never relaxed from it till he was "carried whither he would not." His independence, decision, earnestness, and presentiment of martyrdom might seem to impart somewhat of hardness to his temperament, and the fruit might appear to hang on a leafless bough. There was, however, no sullenness about him, though he was alone among strangers that could not appreciate him; adversity had not embittered him; but his history and his mission shed a profound solemnity over him, and every word and act was viewed in the light of high principle, and of an eternity which he felt to be ever nearing him. Complimentary terms were beneath him, and his affectionate greetings, as those to Fryth, were without efflorescence. His sincerity did not garnish itself with cheap sentiment; his honesty did not robe itself in purple; his

eye was single, and his aim was definite. To give his country a faithful and idiomatic version of the Divine Word, a true reflection of the inspired original, was his one labour; for it he lived, and for it he died a homeless, solitary exile and martyr.

His successor, Coverdale, was a man fitted in all ways to act a secondary part. Loyal to truth and conscience, he was not characterized by mental independence. It was not his nature to cherish a self-born resolve, or act it out apart from advice and consultation. He liked to lean on some one; and while he was honest and persevering, he was singularly susceptible of impression and guidance. Tyndale never had a patron, but Coverdale, though he does not seem to have begged patronage, or to have ever abased himself in order to keep it, yet liked to nestle under it. The unctuous style of his time does not suffer in his hands, as when he tells Crumwell that "like Jacob, he has obtained the chief blessing;" and concludes, "farewell, thou ornament of learning and of counsels, and, in fine, of every virtue." His instinct was rather to follow than to discover the path of duty. He seems to have had little confidence in himself, but he had great faith in the judgment of others. He was afraid to take any momentous step till others had suggested it, or at least till he had taken counsel with them about it; but he set himself without hesitation to do his work when it had been clearly pointed out to him. He could not lead; he preferred to be led as friends directed, or circumstances seemed to warrant or indicate. While, in Tyndale's experience, duty became a divine necessity to which, at all hazards, he ever responded, Coverdale was advised and urged to the work of translation. He did not venture upon it as a competitor for fame, "not as a checker, not as a reprover or despiser of other men's translations," and he appears now and then to be on the point of offering an apology for engaging in it at all. "Now, for thy part, most gentle reader, take that I here offer thee with a good will, and let this present translation be no prejudice to the other that out of the Greek have been translated before, or shall be hereafter;"[1] and in another allusion to Tyndale he adds,

[1] Prologue to the New Testament of 1538.

"Notwithstanding, when I considered how great pity it was that we should want it so long, and called to my remembrance the adversity of those which were not only of ripe knowledge, but would also with all their hearts have performed that they had began, if they had not had impediment, considering, I say, that, by reason of their adversity, it could not so soon have been brought to an end as our most prosperous nation would fain have had it . . . . I was the more bold to take it in hand."[1] He uniformly and repeatedly disclaimed all merit as the founder of the enterprise, confessing, however, to have felt the influence of one subsidiary motive, that as other nations were more plenteously provided with the Scriptures in "their mother tongue" than his own, he would do his best to supply the want.[2]

Tyndale knew his powers, and put a high estimate on his translation, as a work of earnest industry and scholarship, and he could defend it with lofty spirit and sternness against such assailants as Sir Thomas More and George Joye. But Coverdale had no overweening estimate of the value of his labour, for his hope and prayer was that "if it was not worthily ministred, God shall send it in a better shape." In unaffected humility he was content if his version served only as a foundation "for another to build thereon," and he kept his word. So utterly unselfish was he that he worked heartily at a new edition intended to supersede his own. He had no gall in his nature; was not one of those men who consider a work to be ill done if they have not a chief share in the doing of it. He was far in spirit from another class who, if their own plot have little greenery, are compensated by the thought that a worm is twining itself round

[1] Prologue to the Bible of 1535.

[2] Before 1477 there had been four editions of the German Bible, and ten more followed within forty years. There had been an Italian Bible in 1471, and in about thirty years there were nine other editions. A French Bible appeared in 1487; Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Bohemia, and Poland had their Bibles at an early period. All that had been printed in England was Bishop Fisher's Exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms. Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1509.

the root of their neighbour's gourd. Tyndale sharply resented any attempt to tamper with his work, and claimed the sole power to amend it; but Coverdale, in the preface to his Diglott Testament, avows, "Yet, forasmuch as I am but a private man, and am obedient unto the higher powers, I refer the reformation and amendment thereof unto the same, and to such as excel in authority and knowledge."[1] These words should scarcely have been written by a skilful and painstaking translator, conscious of doing his best in his very responsible task. Were we not assured of his honesty and simple-heartedness, we should regard him as guilty of wretched obsequiousness, when, after all his toil, patience, and prayers, he ends his royal dedication of his Bible by the morbid avowal, "I thought it my duty, and to belong unto my allegiance, when I had translated the Bible, not only to dedicate this translation unto your highness, but wholly to commit it unto the same, to the intent that, if anything therein be translated amiss, it may stand in your grace's hands to amend it, to improve[2] it, yea, and clean to reject it, if your godly wisdom shall think it necessary." Though all this protestation is undoubtedly genuine, it indicates a marvellous facility of temperament, the absence of all self-reliance, a morbid proneness to self-depreciation, and a total want of ambition to be earliest in suggestion or first in progress. But he took his own place, and willingly filled it without envy, jealousy, or uncharitableness, and heartily did he welcome any coadjutor or successor. Provided the work was done, he did not covet identification with it, though he did not publish anonymously as did Tyndale at first. Tyndale would not have become a translator at all if he could not have rendered directly from the original texts; but Coverdale, with lowlier aim, scrupled not to confess on his first title-page that his Bible was "translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe." Tyndale's convictions were firm, and he was ever ruled by them; but Coverdale was so flexible as to say, "here the Hebrues begynnethe X Psalm," and yet to mark the next Psalm as the tenth also, according to

[1] Prologue to the New Testament, printed by Francis Regnault, 1838.

[2] "Improve," (improbo) to condemn or reject, as in his own version of 2 Tim. iv, 2, "improve, rebuke, exhort," and also in Tyndale.

the other numeration; and he could note, in reference to a portion of the fourteenth Psalm found in the Vulgate, "these thre verses are not in the Hebrue," and yet he puts them without hesitation into his text. In his professed translation of the Vulgate New Testament, he forsakes the form of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke, and, unfaithful to his purpose as told on his title-page, he follows the Greek, but he admits the inconsistency in his Preface. In his Prologue he quietly accepted "Vulgarius" from a strange error of Erasmus,[1] who gave Theophylact a name derived from his diocese of Bulgaria. Quaintly and earnestly he opens his soul to the reader: "If, when thou readest this or any other like book, thou chance to find any letter altered and changed, either in the Latin or English (for the turning of a letter is a fault soon committed in the print), then take thy pen and mend it, considering that thou art as much bound so to do as I am to correct all the rest." And the concluding words are the coinage of his heart: "And what edifying soever thou receivest at any man's hand, consider that it is no man's doing, but cometh even of the goodness of God, to whom only be praise and glory."[2]

Miles Coverdale was born about 1488 in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and probably in the district that gave him his own name, Cover-dale, which lay in what was called Richmondshire. Of his youth and early life nothing is known, though Hoker[3] describes him as "from his childhood given to learning, wherein he profited much." He was, at a fitting age, attached to the Convent of the Augustines at Cambridge,[4] and, according to Tanner, was admitted in 1514 to priest's orders at Norwich by John, Bishop of Chalcedon. Barnes, who became Prior in 1523, at length espoused the reformed doctrines, and his influence brought many around him over to his views.

[1] Erasmus who, in Latinizing his own Dutch name, had made two blunders, does not get very well out of the oversight of taking the geographical term for a proper name. His assertion that his MS. was all but illegible is said not to be fully borne out. Drummond's Erasmus, vol. I, pp. 315, 316.

[2] Prologue to the reader, Diglott.

[3] Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter.

[4] This convent shared the fate of many similar establishments in 1539.

When or how Coverdale got into the good graces of Crumwell, to whom he styles himself "your poor child," we have no means of ascertaining, but at an early period he enjoyed his patronage. In a letter dated 26th August, 1527, he writes to Crumwell, "If I knew that my coming to London might stand with your favour, truly the bird was never gladder of the day than I would be to come. It remains with you to command as you will the abilities of your Miles. Tuus quantus quantus Milo Coverdalus."[1] At a later period, in making a request to him for his printer, his appeal is, "according to your most loving and favourable manner of old." He attended along with other anxious inquirers the meetings held at the White Horse, a building close to St. John's College, and placed so conveniently that members of King's and Queen's might enter it without being observed, and which, on account of the Lutheran notions held by many who frequented it, was often, as Foxe says, called "Germany." Their opinions spread, and their zeal grew. Barnes[2] was publicly arrested, and search was made in the University for heretical or Lutheran books; but Dr. Farman, of Queen's, gave timely notice to the suspected parties. In the meantime Coverdale escaped annoyance, probably through Crumwell's influence, though he had so far committed himself that he followed Barnes to London, and was occupied with him in the Fleet Prison in the preparation of his defence. He continued to maintain his evangelical profession, threw off his monastic habit, left his convent, and, in the words of Bale, "while others dedicated themselves in part only, he gave himself wholly up to the preaching of the Gospel." His arguments and appeals as he laboured at Bumstead in Essex made converts, some of whom, on being arrested and examined by Bishop Tunstall, laid the blame on Sir Miles Coverdale and his discourses,[3] which opposed the mass, the confessional, and the worship of images. Thomas Topley, an Augustine friar of Stoke Clare, confessed, when examined in 1528, that having heard Sir Miles Coverdale preach, "his mind was sore withdrawn from the blessed sacrament, insomuch that he took it

[1] State Papers, vol. VII, No. 67.

[2] See page 167.

[3] On the title Sir, as given to a priest, see pages 118, 119.

but for the remembrance of Christ's body." Such accusations, made before a tribunal so terrible showed the reformer that he was no longer perfectly safe in England, and he went across to the Continent. According to Foxe's record, he met Tyndale in Hamburg, and stayed with him from Easter to December, 1529, in the house of a "worshipful widow," Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, during a violent epidemic, and helped him to translate the Pentateuch.[1] But the gossip, though circumstantially told, has no corroborative support, and, wanting coherence, is not in some points very credible. Coverdale may have met Tyndale somewhere on the Continent, but from his ignorance of Hebrew he could have given him only such subordinate help for the Old Testament as Friar Roye had afforded for the New. There is no allusion either by Tyndale or Fryth to Coverdale's presence or assistance in any place or at any time, and surely these two martyrs cannot be accused of any unworthy prejudice created by rivalry in Biblical labour. Besides, there is no proof that Tyndale visited Hamburg after his second journey to it in 1524, and he could not come to that city, "minding to print his translation of Deuteronomy in it," as Foxe so naively relates, for at that epoch it had no printing press, and apparently no books were printed in it before 1536. Tyndale may have gone to the northern seaport on some other errand, and may have met Coverdale; yet Foxe, who relates the anecdote about this abode in Hamburg from Easter to December, places Tyndale's interview with Packington at Antwerp about the middle of August in the same year.[2] Genesis was printed in January, 1530, at Marburg, and Tyndale could scarcely be absent from that city for so long a period as nine months of the previous year, for he must have been preparing his translation, and superintending it at press.

From this period, in 1528 till 1535, the places of Coverdale's residence are unknown. It has been conjectured by Foxe that he visited Denmark. But if the date assigned by the

[1] There seems to have been, according to Offor's testimony, whatever be its value, a lady of that name at this time in Hamburg, the widow of a senator; and there was a "sweating sickness" in 1529.

[2] See pages 179, 180.

Royal Commissioners, who first published the following letter, be accepted, he must have gone back for a time to his old convent, and through his powerful patron his return might involve him in little peril. The letter is addressed to Crumwell, "his singular good master," "From the Augustines this May day," and subscribed "your chyld and beedman in Jesu Chryst, Frere Myles Cov'dale." Its date is supposed to be 1531, or 1532, though it may be earlier; and after the custom of his day, he writes, "For now I begyne to taste of Holy Schryptures: now (honour be to God) I am sett to the most swete smell of holy lettyres,[1] with the godly savour of holy and awncyent Doctoures, unto whose knowledge I cannot attayne, without dyversyte of bookys, as is not unknown to your most excellent wysdome. Nothyng in the world I desyre but books as concerning my lernynge. They once had, I do not dowte but Allmyghty God schall perfourme that in me, whych He, of Hys most plentyfull favour and grace, haith begone."[2] Whatever truth may be in the surmises just mentioned, it is certain that Coverdale was in obscurity for a considerable period, but that time had not been wasted. During his earlier residence on the Continent he must have learned German,[3] and thus prepared himself for his heavy task, which, in all likelihood, he had already commenced. At least the letter just quoted, while it may allude to Biblical study generally, would seem by its special terms to imply that he had made some progress with the translation. He must again have gone over to the Continent, though the date is uncertain, and there undisturbed and withdrawn from public notice, he finished his great work.

We have already seen that, on the 24th of May, 1530, a council was held at Westminster, which, among other topics, discussed the question of an Authorized Bible—a question forced upon it by the conviction of the people that the king

[1] Latimer says, referring to the period of his conversion, "from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God."

[2] State Papers, vol. I, p. 383.

[3] When he went abroad after Crumwell's death, he had such knowledge of German that he was at once admitted to the benefice of Bergzabern, where he preached till the death of Henry VIII.

had promised them such a gift, and by the rapid circulation of Tyndale's Testament, the suppression of which was sternly commanded. The people were longing for the Scriptures in the mother tongue; and while their longings were recognized, they were virtually set at nought. The decision of the council, which, after a conference of twelve days, began by fulminating against Tyndale's Testament, was formally embodied in a royal proclamation, and Warham, the Primate, immediately followed with another document, which ended with a bill to be read by preachers, and to the following effect:—

"Forasmuch that it was reported unto the king's highnes, that there is engendered an opynyon in diverse of his subjects, that it is his duetie to cawse the Scripture of God to be translated into the Englishe tonge to be communicate unto the people; & that the prelates & also his highnes doo wronge in denying or letting of the same; his highnes therefor willed every man there present in the said assemble, freely and frankly to shewe & open unto him what might be proved and confirmed by Scripture & holy doctours in that behalf, to the entent that his highnes, as he there openly protested, myght conforme himself thereunto, mynding to doo his dutie towards his people, as he wolde they shulde doo their duties towards him. In whiche matter, after Scriptures declared, holy doctours & auctors alleged, & read, & all thinges sayde that might be on both sidys, & for bothe parties spoken, deduced, & brought furthe; fynally it appered, that the having of the hole Scripture in Englisshe is not necessarye to cristen men, but that without having any suche Scripture endevoring themself to doo well, & to applye their myndes to take and followe such leassons as the precher techith theym, & soo lerned by his mowthe, may as well edifye spiritually in their soules, as if they had the same Scripture in Englishe; & like as the having of Scripture in the vulgar tongis, & in the common peoples handes, hath ben by holy fathers of the churche heretofore in some tymes thought mete and convenient; soo at another tyme it hath ben thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicate amongst them.

Wherein forasmuche as the kings highnes, by the advise &

deliberation of his counceill, & the agrement of great learned men, thinkith in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this tyme in Englisshe tonge to be committed to the people, considering such pestilente books & so evill opynyons as be now spred amonge them, shulde rather be to their further confusion & destruction then the edification of their soules; & that as holy doctours testifie upon suche like considerations, the semblable hath been doon in tymes past, it was thought ther in that assemble to all & singuler in that congregation, that the kings highnes & the prelats in soo dooing, not suffering the Scripture to be divulgid & communicate in the Englishe tonge unto the people at this tyme, doth well, & (the preacher was to add) I also think & judge the same, exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his highnes did there openlye saye & protest, that he wolde cause the Newe Testament to be by lerned men faithfully & purely translated into Englishe tonge, to the extent he might have it in his handes redy to be gevyn to his people, as he might se their manners & behaviour mete, apte, and convenient to receyve the same, that ye will soo detest thes perniciouse boks, so abhore thes heresies & newe opynions, soo declyne from arrogancy of knowledge & understanding of Scripture after your fantasies, and shewe your self in the meane tyme without grudging or murmerying, perswading unto your selfe the very truth, which is this, that ye cannot require or demande Scripture to be divulged in the Englishe tonge, otherwise then upon the discretions of the superiours, soo as whensoever they think in their conscience it may doo yowe good, they may & doo well to geve it unto you, and whensoever it shall be seen otherwise unto them, they do amisse in suffering you to have it."

The king's implied promise to authorize an English Bible was too precious to be forgotten, and Latimer took an early opportunity of briskly refreshing the royal memory. On the 1st of December, 1530, he sent an epistle to his Majesty of marvellous boldness, fidelity, and earnestness. Several manuscript copies of it are still in existence, showing that it must have had some circulation. The undaunted reformer thus proceeds, without hesitation:—

"How little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! And specially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenge unto themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither show the truth themselves (as they be bound), neither suffer them that would. . . . And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the Word of God, which David calleth 'a light to direct,' and show every man how to order his affections and lusts according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtile wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief. And especially in this your realm they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and barbarous glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say). And now, at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

"This, most gracious King, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

"Your Grace may see what means and craft the spiritualty (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the Acts which were made in your Grace's last Parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And though I named the spiritualty to be corrupt with this unchristian ambition, yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them; neither would I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the Church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

"And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may that the Holy Scriptures should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection; and so they persuade, at the least way they would fain persuade, your Grace to keep it back. . . But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your Grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last procla-

mation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to-day, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise.

"As concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it and chief counsellors were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And, howbeit, that there were three or four that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs, set forth in your name, as they have done many times before, which hath put your realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury. But what marvel is it that they, being so nigh of your counsel and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, which before, by their own authority, have forbidden the New Testament under pain of everlasting damnation? For such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell ere they send one to God.

"And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter, that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the Word of God; that your Grace may be found acceptable in His sight, and one of the members of His Church; and, according to the office that He hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of His gifts, and not a defender of His faith: for He will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by His Word only, by the which He hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power, or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself; have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. . . . The Spirit of God preserve your Grace!"

Coverdale may, therefore, have been the more anxious to hasten on the work, for change of opinion had been rapidly spreading in England. The authority of the Italian Pontiff had also been broken, when, by the Convocation of 1531, Henry was acknowledged as supreme head of the Church, and the

papal jurisdiction was superseded by the royal prerogative, or rather was absorbed into it.[1] The desire for the Scriptures in English could not be repressed, the few copies in circulation created a desire for more. Convocation, or rather the bishops, abbots, and friars of the Upper House of the Province of Canterbury, which met on the 19th of December, 1534, "did unanimously consent that the most reverend father the Archbishop make instance in their names to the king, that his majesty would vouchsafe for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to decree and command that all his subjects in whose possession any books of suspect doctrine were, especially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond or on this side the sea, should be warned within three months to bring those in before persons to be appointed by the king, under a certain pain to be limited by the king; and that, moreover, his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree that the sacred Scriptures should be translated into the English tongue by certain honest and learned men, named for that purpose by his Majesty, and should be delivered to the people according to their learning."[2] The last portion of the memorial was bitterly opposed by Gardyner and his party, for they maintained that all "heresies and extravagancies sprang from the free use of the Scriptures." The Convocation itself, apparently, did not feel its ground to be very secure; for while it ventured on one bold step—to ask for a translation of Scripture—it attempted to guard its decision against apprehended abuses, and forbade such inquiries and discussions as the free circulation of the English Bible at that time must certainly produce. It prohibited the subjects from "publicly disputing, or in any manner contending, concerning the Catholic faith, or the articles of faith, or the sacred Scripture, or its meaning." The attempt was vain, for discussions could not but spring up in the divided state of religious opinion. The old and the new had come into sharp conflict, and the new, suddenly conscious of its strength, was tempted

[1] The title, Defender of the Faith, of which Henry was so proud, had been virtually assumed by Richard II in a royal commission granted against the Lollards—nos zelo fidei Catholicæ cujus sumus et esse volumus Defensores.

[2] Wilkin's Concilia, vol. III, p. 770.

to exhibit and test it unduly, like the lame man healed by the apostle, who, not content with the common exercise of restored physical power, is described as "leaping" in wanton thankfulness while he entered into the temple "praising God." The result of this petition of Convocation is not definitely known, and probably it was not presented in form to the king. But the archbishop, to seize the opportunity, at once set about the work himself. The story told by Strype is to the following effect, that the primate was determined "that a translation of the Bible should be published, and that the way he managed was this—He took an [old][1] translation of the New Testament (Tyndale's) to begin with. This he divided into nine or ten parts, causing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be sent to the best learned bishops and others, to the intent that they should make a perfect correction thereof; and when they had done so, to restore them to him at Lambeth by a certain time. One of these parts (the Acts of the Apostles) was, it seems, sent to Stokesley, Bishop of London. When the day fixed was come, they all sent in their portions to the archbishop except Stokesley; and the archbishop, sending to know why he had not sent in his part like the rest, Stokesley returned the following answer: "I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will; and, therefore, my lord shall have this book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the common people into error." Mr. Thomas Lawney,[2] chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, standing by and hearing the arch-

[1] In Foxe's MSS., to which Strype formally refers as his only authority, the word "old" does not occur. But the "Injunctions" of 1536 given in Foxe, "that every parson or proprietary of any parish church was to provide a whole Bible in Latin and also in English before the first of August, to be laid in the choir," are not found in Cranmer's Register, nor in Wilkin's. Foxe may have got the clause from some inexact or uncorrected scroll, but the injunctions ascribed to Crumwell were apparently never published.

[2] Lawney had been one of the scholars chosen by Wolsey for his College at Oxford, and had been imprisoned in 1528.

bishop speak of Stokesley's untowardness, said, "I can tell your grace why my Lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this way: your grace knoweth well that his portion is a piece of the New Testament. But he being persuaded that Christ had not bequeathed him anything in his Testament, thought it were madness to bestow any labour or pains where no gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my Lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them."[1] The scheme seems to have miscarried for some reason, though, according to Morrice, Cranmer's private secretary, "every man sent to Lambeth their parts corrected,"[2] but the purposed edition never appeared.

Cranmer's project of getting a version made through episcopal co-operation has been frequently ascribed to the influence of the Convocation of 1536. But the opinion is erroneous, for, on the 1st of June, 1535, Bishop Gardyner, writing from Waltham, informs Crumwell, "I have finished the translations of St. Luke and St. John, wherein I bestowed great labour, though I had as great cause as any man to desire rest and quiet for the health of my body."[3] Bishop Gardyner seems to have been lying under some cloud of political suspicions at the time. He "laments and wails his chance and fortune," the king fearing in "me a coloured doubleness," and refers to something alleged to have been done by him in the house of Syon, a house notorious for its opposition to the divorce, the supremacy, and all change. And therefore he sent the notice of his completed revision, not to the primate, as the other revisers did, but to the powerful Secretary.

These things were not "done in a corner," and they must have been known to Coverdale's patrons, who were prompting him to redeem the time. During this period he had not been idle, and some patient and industrious months must have been given to the labour. It must have commenced before the

[1] Strype's Life of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 71, Oxford, 1848.

[2] Nicholl's Narrative, Camden Soc. ed., p. 277.

[3] The holograph letter is preserved in the Crumwell Correspondence, bundle W, State Papers, I, 430.

petition of Convocation, for from that date less than a year elapsed before the Bible was published. The volume could not have been prepared during this brief interval, for on such a supposition which one writer has adopted, there must have been, in no figurative sense, "an invisible power guiding the thoughts and speeding the pen of the translator."[1] Apparently none but his immediate friends and advisers were aware of his doings or divined his intentions. He had retired into temporary seclusion, and a friendly cloud concealed him. As the harvest springs from seed which germinates in darkness, so the entire English Bible, translated no one knows where, presented itself unheralded and unanticipated at once to national notice in 1535.

The previous months and years had been very eventful. The treasonable utterances of the nun of Kent had brought her and her accomplices to Tyburn. Some seditious monks of the Charterhouse had been remorselessly executed "in their habits"; and the king, as if touched by such scenes of blood, had ordered his court into mourning. Wolsey had passed into eclipse and death; Fisher and More had fallen; the heart of popish Europe was filled with indignation and bitterness, and there had been symptoms of a continental coalition against Henry. The reports of the indescribable vices and villanies of some of the religious houses were beginning to be known and talked of; many momentous ecclesiastical changes had taken place, and more seemed to be impending, for the Pope had been transubstantiated into the king; Cranmer was in Canterbury, and Anne Boleyn on the throne; and the preoccupied and distracted people of England had no leisure to give the new Bible any formal token of recognition or welcome.

The title-page of the volume that had stolen as a stranger into the country names itself thus:—"Biblia—The Bible: that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully & truly translated out of Douche & Latyn

[1] In a letter to Conrad Hubert, sometimes in need of a spur, inasdated Bergzabern, February 20th, much as I am by nature dilatory." 1545, Coverdale confesses, "I am

in to Englishe, MDXXXV. S. Paul, ii Tessa iii. Praye for us, that the worde of God maie have fre passage, & be glorified, &c. S. Paul, Colloss. iii. Let the worde of Christ dwell in you plenteously in all wysdome, &c. Josue i, Let not the Boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyse thyselfe therein daye & nyghte, &c." Then follows a Dedication: "Vnto the most victorious Prynce & oure most gracyous soueraigne Lorde, kynge Henry the eyght, kynge of Englonde & of Fraunce, lorde of Irelonde, &c., Defendour of the Fayth, & vnder God the chefe & suppreme heade of the Church of Englonde;" followed by a prayer that among other blessings "multiplication of seed which God gave unto Abraham and Sara, his wife, be given unto you, most gracious prince, with your dearest just wife and most virtuous princess, Queen Anne." "Queen Anne," however, was soon changed into "Queen Jane." The Dedication fills five pages, and is signed on the last of them, "Your graces humble subiecte & daylye oratour, Myles Coverdale." It contains eloquent denunciations of Popery, and is exuberant in its laudation of the king. It pictures "the blynde bysshope of Rome" as Balaam and Caiaphas, and the king as a Moses, a David, a Jehoshaphat, a Hezekiah, "yea, as a very good Josiah," revived in his Majesty. He stoutly upholds, also, the pre-eminence of the temporal sword, and vindicates the sole royal supremacy, there being above the king "no other head under God." It also touches on themes most pleasing to him, probably including a favourable reference to the king's "great business," the divorce, "as John durst say unto King Herode, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." The cases were not at all similar, indeed, for Herod's brother was alive when the Baptist pronounced the censure; but the verse was often quoted in the great controversy, which was discussed by statesmen, casuists, and divines in so many courts and colleges of Europe. Nor was it a divorce in the common sense of the term, but the dissolution of a union which, according to the king's friends and lawyers, had been void from the beginning, as it had never been a valid marriage. The Dedication is followed by "A prologe" of five pages and a half, which briefly discusses

the question of translation, enumerates and characterizes the various books of the Bible, and is followed by a catalogue of them. The lower half of the last page of the volume contains "A faute escaped in pryntinge the New Testament," and two similar errors are noted at the end of the Song of Solomon. The colophon is "prynted in the yeare of oure Lorde MDXXXV, and fynished the fourthe daye of October." The volume, small folio, is printed in angular black letter, in double columns, and a full page contains fifty-seven lines. It consists of six parts: "The first, Genesis to Deuteronomion; the seconde, Joshua to Hester; the thyrde, Job to Solomon's Song; the fourth, the Prophets; the fifth, the Apocrypha; and the sixth is the New Testament. The Table of Contents fills two pages, and is headed with The Bokes of the hole Byble, how they are named in Englysh and Latyn, how longe they are written in the Allegacions, and how many chapters every Boke hath. The contents of the chapters are placed before each book, with the exception of Salomon's Ballettes and the Lamentacions of Jeremy. The same exception holds in the Apocrypha in the case of the Songe of Three Children, the Story of Susanna, and the Story of Bel; but "contents" are placed before each chapter of the Apocryphal Esther. There are no verses, but paragraphs are marked and distinguished by capital letters on the margin. There are numerous woodcuts in the text, the half of the first page of Genesis representing six "dayes worke," and there are many ornamented capitals. At the end of Deuteronomy there is a map of the size of two leaves—curiously constructed with the north to the bottom and the south to the top, and headed, "The descripcion of the lande of promes called Palestina, Canaan, or the holy lande."

The Apocrypha has this brief preface—"The Bokes & Treatises which among the Fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authoritie with the other Bokes of the Byble, nether are they founde in the Canon of the Hebrue"—with a note at the foot of the page, "Unto these also belongeth Baruc, whom we haue set amonge the prophetes next unto Jeremy, because he was his scrybe, & in his tyme." The next page has "The

Translatoure unto the Reader"—"These bokes (good reader) which be called Apocrypha, are not iudged amonge the doctours to be of like reputacion with the other scripture, as thou mayest perceaue by S. Jerome in epistola ad Paulinum; & the chefe cause thereof is this: there be many places in them that seme to be repugnaunt vnto the open & manyfest trueth in the other bokes of the byble. Nevertheles, I have not gathered them together to the intent that I wolde haue them despysed, or little sett by, or that I shulde thinke them false, for I am not able to proue it: Yee, I doute not verely, yf they were equally conferred with the other open scripture (tyme, place, & circumstaunce in all thinges considered) they shulde nether seme contrary, ner be vntruly & peruersly aledged. Treuth it is: a man's face can not be sene so wel in a water, as in a fayre glasse; nether can it be shewed so clearly in a water that is stered or moued, as in a styll water. These & many other darck places of scripture haue bene sore stered & myxte with blynde & cuvetous opynions of men which haue cast soche a myst afore the eyes of the symple that as longe as they be not conferred with the other places of scripture, they shall not seme other wyse to be vnderstonde, then as cuvetousnes expoundeth them. But who so euer thou be that readest scripture, let the holy goost by thy teacher, & let one text expounde another vnto the: As for soch dreames, visions, & darck sentences as be hyd from thy vnderstondinge, commytte them vnto God, and make no articles of them: But let the playne text be thy gyde, and the sprete of God (which is the author therof) shal lede the in all trueth.

"As for the prayer of Salomon (which thou findest not herin), the prayer of Azarias, & the swete songe that he & his two felowes songe in the fyre: the first (namely, the prayer of Salomon) readest thou in the eight chapter of the thirde boke of the kynges, so that it appeareth not to be Apocryphum: The other prayer & songe (namely, of the thre children) haue I not founde amonge eny of the interpreters, but onely in the olde latyn texte, which reporteth it to be of Theodotio's translacion. Nevertheles, both because of those that be weake & scrupulous, & for their sakes also that love soch swete songes

of thankesgeuinge: I haue not left them out: to the intent that the one shulde haue no cause to complayne, & that the other also might haue the more occasion to geue thankes vnto God in aduersite, as the thre children dyd in the fyre. Grace be with the. Amen." The prayer of Manasses is left out, as the Zürich Bible had omitted it; but before the canonical Lamentations is set this preface, "And it came to passe (after Israel was brought into captivitie & Jerusalem destroyed) that Jeremy the prophet sat weepynge & mourning, & making his mone (moan) in Jerusalem, so that with an heavy herte he sighed & sobbed, sayenge."

The Bible has no name of place or printer, and neither place nor printer is ascertained to perfect satisfaction. It is sometimes supposed to have been printed by Christian Egenolph, at Frankfort.[1] The evidence is based on the similarity between some woodcuts bearing the monogram of Hans Sebald Beham of Nuremberg used by Egenolph, and those found in Coverdale; but an examination shows at once that they are not the same, those in Coverdale being only copies. The type in Egenolph's German Bible is not the same in body with that used in Coverdale. Offor puts in a plea for Cologne as the place of printing; but there is a very strong presumption that Froschover of Zürich, who printed the edition of 1550, also printed that of 1535. The two larger sizes of letters in the Bible are found in his other works; but the watermarks in the leaves of these works differ from those found in the Bible. Froschover was at a later day the friend and protector of the Marian exiles, and boarded twelve of them, including Humphrey, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Bishop Parkhurst. Several letters of his, dated Oxford, are found in the collection published by the Parker Society.[2] He is also spoken of by Grindal[3] as "rich enough," and therefore fitted to take on him the charge of an expensive work. He printed Cranmer's book against Gardyner, John Foxe delivering the copy to him. He was, in short, in position and character,

[1] As by Botfield, Miscellanies, &c., p. 43,

[2] Original Letters, vol. II, p. 719.

[3] Remains of Archbishop Grindal, p. 220, Parker Soc. ed.

such a man as might be entrusted with a work to be done in secret, and involving probably a considerable outlay. Besides, as Coverdale's version rests mainly on the Swiss-German Bible, printed by Froschover, in Zürich, we may infer that the translator's retreat had been for a period in that city, and from typographical evidence that his translation was completed and printed there.[1]

The year 1535 was, in one sense, a year of promise. Tyndale was in prison indeed; but Coverdale's Bible was published, and there were also issued these royal injunctions for the University of Cambridge, indicating the dawn of a new era. "In each college and hall there shall be two daily public lectures, one of Greek, the other of Latin. . . . No lectures shall be read upon any of the doctors who have written upon the Master of the Sentences, but all divinity lectures shall be upon the Scriptures."

[1] The Bible by Coverdale, 1535. By Francis Fry, F.S.A., Lond. 1867.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SOME peculiar points in the history of this volume may be noted. It has two distinct title-pages, one in the type of the volume, and therefore the original one; the other in the English black letter of the period, and therefore a reprinted one, with dates of 1535 and 1536. There are also two copies with a facsimile of the title of 1535, but with a very important clause left out, while the leaves that come after are in English type. These reprints give the list of Books on the reverse of the seventh leaf—the first title has it on its own reverse. The name of Queen Anne is found in some copies, and the name of Queen Jane in others. Various surmises have been thrown out as to the causes of this early reprint of the preliminary furniture. It has been sometimes argued, as by Lewis,[1] Botfield,[2] Walter,[3] and Anderson,[4] that, after the volume had been printed, its publication was postponed on account of the trial and execution of Queen Anne who was beheaded 19th May, 1536. Her name had been in the original dedication, and it was now thought necessary to expunge it. Eight months must in this way be supposed to elapse between the period when the volume was finished, in October, 1535, and its issue in England with Queen Jane in the dedication, 1536. To support this conjecture stress is laid on the copy in the British Museum, in which "Anne" has been made into "Jane" with a pen; but any possessor of a copy might, if he pleased, effect such a change, and no argument can be based upon it, unless it be supposed that the awkward alteration was introduced into the

[1] History, p. 100, London, 1818.
[2] Cathedral Libraries, p. 193.
[3] Letter to Herbert Marsh, p. 73.
[4] Annals, I, p. 563.

whole edition. The copy at Sion College has Jane printed as part of the original text, and with the date 1536. But the title, as Mr. Fry[1] plainly shows from difference of type and from the misprints, belongs to the edition printed by Nycolson in 1537, and by a common trick it was put into an earlier issue, as if to produce a complete copy. In fact, all the "Jane" leaves are from the same edition, the English reprint. All the known copies that have the dedication to King Henry VIII, of date 1535 and 1536, read Queen Anne. There is therefore little doubt that the Bible was issued in 1535, with a title-page and preliminary matter in the same foreign type as the body or text of the volume. The editions found with the title and following leaves in English black letter, bearing the date both of 1535 and 1536, only show that the first title and prefatory matter had been on purpose superseded, and that very soon after the arrival of the Bible in this country. The reasons of the change in the title-page itself will be afterwards discussed.

Some interesting particulars about this first complete English Bible may be gleaned from itself, and from Coverdale's dedication of his edition of 1550.

And, *first*, true to his temperament, he was not the originator; but is ever forward to make and repeat this acknowledgment: "To say the truth before God, it was neither my labour nor desire to have this work put into my hand, nevertheless, when I was instantly required, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will, for the which cause (according as I was desired), anno 1534, I took the more upon me to set forth[2] this special translation;" and he adds, "I was boldened in God sixteen years ago to labour faithfully in the same." What is more striking, the use of the Douche and Latin versions had been prescribed to him, his singular words about his predecessors being, "whom I have been the more glad to follow, according as

[1] The Bible by Coverdale, p. 17, &c., London, 1867.

[2] "Set forth" was Coverdale's phrase for publishing. The edition of 1537 has, "set forth with the kynge's most gracious license."

I was required." In his first dedication his utterance also is, "Trusting in His infinite goodness, that He would bring my simple and rude labour herein to good effect, therefore, as the Holy Ghost moved other men to do the cost hereof, so was I boldened in God to labour in the same." The persons so referred to are unknown. For prudential reasons their names were not divulged, and probably they did not covet the perilous notoriety. There must have been within the church a party of covert inquirers who might encourage a translation of the Bible as the charter of ecclesiastical liberty and reform. Crumwell, who became Secretary of State in 1534, had been Coverdale's tutelary genius, had directed his studies, and had certainly befriended him in this undertaking. Probably others like-minded, feeling that Tyndale and his work had been proscribed by name, and "all manner of evil" said against them, may have also urged him on, and sympathized with him in his literary labour. It may even be believed that Sir Thomas More knew of the translation, and of its earlier progress. In the letter first quoted,[1] Coverdale speaks of "Master Moore's kinsman being ill at ease under fever," and in the second he adverts to a conversation held in his house on Easter Eve, which shows that there must have been some degree of intimacy between him and the Chancellor. More did not wholly oppose translations in theory, but objected to Tyndale's so strongly because it wanted several ecclesiastical terms. Tyndale's Testament had been condemned already, and the higher powers could not be expected to retract their sentence; so that if there was to be an English Bible, it must emanate from a new and untainted source. What would not be tolerated as coming from Tyndale, might be accepted as coming from Coverdale, whose name was new and who had few palpable and compromising antecedents.

But Mr. Froude outsteps all probability when he represents the king as in some way originating this version, and as acting on his own responsibility, "his patience being exhausted" in expectation of providing a Bible for his

[1] See page 256.

subjects.[1] Henry, however, had no hand in the production of the volume, though it was dedicated to him. The dedication, indeed, declares that "Josias commanded straytly (as youre grace doth) that the lawe of God shulde be redde and taught vnto all the people." But the reference is to the royal proclamation, of which Latimer reminded the king in a letter dated 1st December, 1530, written after a meeting of Convocation.[2] At the close of 1534, Convocation indeed, as we have seen, petitioned the king for an English translation of the Scriptures, but there is no proof that the petition was laid before him; and if he received it, he certainly took no action upon it. Nor had the first issue of Coverdale's version exposed for sale the words "cum privilegio" on its front, as the historian wrongly asserts. The original title-pages contain no clause of this nature, for "the king's most gracious license" first appeared on the edition printed at Southwark in 1537. Mr. Froude also adduces the frontispiece in proof of his statements, "it being equally remarkable and more emphatic in the recognition of the share in the work done by the king." The eloquent annalist makes here an unaccountable mistake, for the frontispiece described by him, "the Almighty in the clouds, and Cranmer, and Crumwell, in prominent positions on each side," &c., is that of the Great Bible of 1539, and not that of Coverdale at all. Coverdale's is modest in comparison: at the base the king occupies the centre, the royal arms under him, and a square space filled with the title of the Bible over his head, his sword in his one hand, and in his other hand a volume which the bishops are presenting to him, while the peers are looking on; St. Paul is at the one corner with the scroll, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel"; and King David, harp in hand, at the other, with the scroll, "O how sweete are thy wordes to my throte"; at the top are the Hebrew letters representing Jehovah; on the one side are the first transgressors ashamed of their nakedness, and the serpent coiled over their head, with a scroll, "In what daye soever thou eatest thereof thou shalt dye"; on the other side is the Saviour crushing with his heel the serpent's head, with the scroll, "This is my deare Sonne,

[1] History, III, p. 79.

[2] See page 261.

in whom I delyte, hear him." This frontispiece of Coverdale is a cheap and worthless woodcut, poor in conception and inartistic in execution, and, therefore, very unlike the spirited and fine engraving by Hans Holbein in the Great Bible, with which Mr. Froude confounds it, and which will be described in its place. The other six engravings on both sides of the title are only simple scenes from the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament. There is, therefore, no proof whatever that the king knew of or was concerned at all in the origination of Coverdale's Bible. Nor would the translator have concealed the royal patronage—it was not his habit to pass over in silence so great an honour.

Secondly, Though Coverdale was not the originator of the enterprise, he claims to be the one workman. Thus in his address to the Christian Reader, " . . . I was the more bold to take it in hand. . . . I took the more upon me to set forth this special translation. . . . Though it be not worthily ministered unto thee by reason of my rudeness, I thought it my duty to do my best, and that with a good will. . . . I pray God that through my poor ministrations herein, I may give them that can do better some occasion so to do. . . . Whereinsoever I can perceive by myself, or by the information of others, that I have failed, I shall now by the help of God overlook it better and amend it." To the king his avowal is, " I thought it my duty when I had translated the Bible to dedicate this translation unto your highness." He therefore did the work as sole translator, any assistance in comparison of texts or in carrying the volume through the press being of a subordinate nature. But this distinct claim of sole authorship, so formally and frequently asserted and reiterated in the plainest terms, has not been always accepted, and it has been sometimes put aside by unsupported conjectures. Whittaker, against all proof, alleges that Coverdale's Bible " is properly regarded as the joint production of Tyndale and Coverdale," and subjoins what is beyond all belief, " Coverdale, assisted by Rogers, who corrected the press, revised the whole of Tyndale's work before they printed it,"[1] the statement being

[1] Historical and Critical Enquiry, p. 48.

a bewildered reference to the Bible of 1537, or the Great Bible of 1539. Tyndale would not have coveted such a partnership, and could not have tolerated many of Coverdale's renderings. Blunt speaks in unintelligible terms of Coverdale's Bible, "as being printed abroad from the translation in which Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers had each a share," and subjoins a note, "It is almost impossible to distinguish their respective shares."[1] True; for no one can distinguish among non-existent things, and the mistake, if it be not a mere repetition of the errors of previous authorities, has arisen from some unconscious confusion of thought about Matthew's Bible, which, however, is immediately afterwards mentioned. Macknight's allegations are yet wilder and blinder when he ventures to charge Coverdale with something like fraud, since, by calling his version "a special translation,"[2] he wished to have it considered as different from Tyndale's—a mistake probably originating in the erroneous notion that Matthew's Bible was merely a second edition of Coverdale's. Even Hallam, led astray by Johnson, or "other authorities," whom yet he has stigmatized as "erroneous or defective," describes this translation as "a complete version of the Bible, partly by Tyndale and partly by Coverdale."[3] Froude also falls into more elaborate error on the same subject. As if he were inserting a statement which rested on indisputable testimony, he quietly avers, "Miles Coverdale went abroad; with Tyndale's help he collected and edited the scattered portions," that is, of the Old and New Testament. But there really existed no such "scattered portions," for Tyndale had only published a version of the Pentateuch and of Jonah. Besides, Coverdale did not republish in his Bible any part of Tyndale. His is really a new version of the Old Testament, and a revised version of the New; and Tyndale, so far as is known, had and could have no participation in the work. Blundering onward, and yet more deeply, Mr. Froude next asserts that this Bible "was made up of parts prohibited in

[1] The Reformation of the Church of England, p. 510.

[2] A new literal translation of the Epistles, vol. I, p. 15.

[3] Constitutional History of England, vol. I, p. 83.

detail"; but the assertion applies to Matthew's, and not in any sense whatever to Coverdale's Bible. He says, moreover, that "Tyndale had translated the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Historical Books," and the statement is true; but he adds what all evidence contradicts, "afterwards by Tyndale himself, or under Tyndale's eyes, the Psalms and the Prophets were rendered."[1] But any one looking into the versions may ascertain the truth for himself Coverdale, beyond all doubt, was the translator of the Old Testament after 2 Chronicles, and his translation was accepted by Rogers or Matthew in his Bible of 1537, which also contains all that Tyndale had completed. To Coverdale himself, therefore, and to no copartnery of any kind, is the Bible of 1535 to be ascribed. He claims to be the one doer, and no one who knows his transparency of character can doubt his simple word.

Thirdly, Coverdale does not profess to follow any settled principles of translation. The prologue to the Christian Reader does not formally enter upon the subject. He knew, however, that an interpreter ought to have "excellent knowledge and learning in the tongues," and he avows his perfect integrity: "so make I this protestation, having God to record in my conscience, that I have neither wrested nor altered so much as one word for the maintenance of any manner of sect, but have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated . . . though I have failed anywhere (as there is no man but he misseth in some thing) love shall construe all to the best, without any perverse judgment. There is no man living that can see all things, neither hath God given any man to know everything. Howbeit, whereinsoever I can perceive by myself, or by the information of other, that I have failed (as it is no wonder), I shall now by the help of God overlook it better and amend it." He urges also the value of translations: "Now whereas the most famous interpreters of all give sundry judgments of the text, so far as it is done by the spirit of knowledge in the Holy Ghost, methink no man should be offended thereat, for they refer their doings in meekness to the spirit of truth in the congregation of God; and sure I am that there cometh more

[1] History, vol. III, pp. 79, 80.

knowledge and understanding of the Scripture by their sundry translations than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors. For that one interpreteth something obscurely in one place, the same translateth another; or else he himself, more manifestly by a more plain vocable of the same meaning, in another place. Be not thou offended therefore, good reader, though one call a scribe that another calleth a lawyer; or elders, that another calleth father and mother; or repentance, that another calleth penance or amendment. For if thou be not deceived by men's traditions, thou shalt find no more diversity between these terms than between fourpence and a groat."[1] This license however, he carried too far, as did Tyndale; and both set a bad example to subsequent revisers. But he keeps fast the terms "scribe" and "congregation" in the New Testament, and though he does use "repentance" very often, he sometimes varies it by "penance" and "amendment." Coverdale has some eloquent eulogies on the character and benefits of Scripture, and some excellent practical counsels as to the profitable and spiritual reading of it.

Lastly, Though Coverdale began, and carried out the work without co-operation, he never exalts his version as one taken immediately from the Hebrew and Greek text. He was too honest to put forward any false pretences, and he felt that any boastful falsehoods were in utter antagonism to the book on which he had been so silently and patiently working. He would not give a Bible to the people with a lie in the right hand that was holding it out to them. The original title-page revealed the truth, "faythfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn." This curt declaration expresses the simple fact without hesitation or abatement. But as if this honest confession on the title-page, explained and confirmed as it was in the prologue and dedication, had been either too

[1] Grosseteste (Greathead), Bishop of London, who died in 1253, had said, "It is the will of God that the Holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, and that there should be different translations in the Church, so that what is obscurely expressed by one may be more perspicuously rendered by another." Wharton, Auct. Hist. Dogmat., p. 416.

startling or were liable to be misunderstood, a significant change was soon made, and the phrase, "out of Douche and Latyn"[1] was omitted. The omission is found in the title of one copy printed in English black letter, and dated 1535, which has simply "faythfully translated in to Englyshe," and so in another of 1536; but in the edition of 1537, which issued from the press of Nycolson, the words are "translated in Englysh," and "Douche and Latyn" were dropped not only out of the editions referred to, but also out of all subsequent issues. Mr. Fry suggests that, as Froschover, who probably was the printer, has made blunders on the title-pages of some of his English Bibles, as in the quarto edition of Coverdale, 1550, and in Tyndale's New Testament of the same date, so the words "out of Douche and Latyn" may in this way have really been an unauthorized declaration. But the conjecture is not very probable, for the deleted words present the exact case. Yet Whittaker, who by his own confession had never seen the original title, hazards the assertion that, "if this be the case, the title-page contains a very great misrepresentation."[2] The editor of Bagster's reprint of Coverdale calls the change of title a bookselling artifice of the time, to make the work circulate better, and Anderson conjectures that the new title was a mere device, as if it were a different book.[3] The more probable reason is that some of the persons who suggested the work or favoured it, or defrayed the expense, may have been displeased at the candour of the title-page, and counselled its alteration—"Douche" or German being regarded as in special alliance with heresy and deeply tainted with it. But whatever the motive for changing the title, the change was unfair to Coverdale. If done without his sanction, it was a great injustice to him; and if he was overborne by stronger minds to consent to it, as Anderson insinuates, it was a weakness which cannot be

[1] Douche meant what is now called German—Deutsch, not low German or Dutch.

[2] Historical and Critical Enquiry, p. 59. He means that Coverdale translated directly from the original texts.

[3] Annals, vol. I, p. 563.

excused. He should have been true to himself and to his first purpose, resolved to hold by the naked verity as stated in this first title-page and in his Prologue. One may, however, believe that he intended his Bible to circulate as it came from Froschover's press, and with an unmutilated title to carry its own tale. At the same time, it is strange that the parties who concealed what Coverdale was so forward to tell, should have left untouched the Prologue and Dedication which give so distinctly and formally his own account of the sources of his translation. For the words of the first title which the Bible bore on its arrival in London are explicitly confirmed by the disclosure which Coverdale makes to the king: "I have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry interpreters, having only the manifest truth of the Scriptures before mine eyes;" and by what he says to the Christian reader: "To help me herein, I have had sondrye translacions, not only in Latyn,' but also of the Douche interpreters, whom, because of their singuler gyftes and special diligence in the Bible, I have been the more glad to follow for the most part."[1] This confession is so very plain and full, that it must be taken in its literal significance; for the fact is, that he took his Bible at once from the German and Latin versions, especially the Old Testament, without any regard whatever to the Hebrew text, with which he had no familiar acquaintance, if indeed he had any acquaintance at all. Four of these "five interpreters," whom, however, he does not specify, were the Vulgate, Luther, the Zürich or Swiss-German Bible, the Latin version of Pagninus, and he certainly consulted Tyndale's Pentateuch and New Testament.[2]

[1] Alexander Barclay had already set the example of a similar honest title-page—"The shyp of Folys, translated . . . out of Latine, Frenche, and Doyche, into Englyshe tonge." London, R. Pynson, 1509. The original work of Brandt had been written first in German, and then translated into Latin by Locher, and into French by Bade; and the English editor, a priest of St. Mary Ottery, Devonshire, simply told the truth, as did Coverdale.

[2] There was besides the Biblia Sacra of Rudelius, with marginal renderings, Cologne, 1527; and also

As there never was a sincerer soul than Coverdale, never a man who so frankly speaks the truth even to his own disparagement, it is astonishing that in this instance he should not have been taken at his word, when he points out so distinctly the sources of his version. But some authors discredit him. It almost sets one's teeth on edge to find the handsome title-page, in black and red, in Bagster's "Second Modern Edition" of Coverdale's Bible, presenting these astounding words: The Holy Scriptures of the Old and Newe Testamente with the Apocripha faithfully translated from the Hebrewe and Greke, by Miles Coverdale, sometime Lord Bishop of Exeter, MDXXXV. Coverdale never made such an assertion as is here ascribed to him, and it is found in no title-page issued by him, nay, in none of the five title-pages which have been preserved. He would not for worlds have uttered or countenanced such a falsehood, giving the lie not only to himself, and to his first title-page, but also to his repeated assertions in the Dedication and Prologue. Pearson, editor of "Coverdale's Remains," avers that "his version throughout bears marks of a close attention to the original";[1] but its own author did not describe it in such terms. Anderson declares, "of Coverdale's qualifications as a translator from the original, there can be little, or rather no question after what Whittaker has so ably written respecting his acquaintance with Hebrew."[2] Whittaker,[3] whose remark on the title-page has been already quoted, did affirm that Coverdale translated from the Hebrew, and in proof he has adduced what he regards as four "crucial instances," in which the version differs from the Septuagint and the Vulgate, from Luther and Pagninus; and his inference is that in these cases it must be an immediate translation "from the Hebrew and from *nothing else.*" His first adduced proof is Coverdale's rendering of Isaiah lvii, 5, it being "singly sufficient in deciding this

a Dutch and a German version. See Steigenberger's literarisch-kritische Abhandlung über die zwei alleralteste gedruckte Deutsche Bibeln, &c., München, 1787.

[1] Remains, p. xvii, Parker Society edition.

[2] Annals, vol. I, p. 564.

[3] Historical and Critical Enquiry, p. 52, &c.

point." The verse reads in our version, "Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree," and Coverdale has, "Ye take your pleasure under the oaks and under all green trees." The Septuagint, Vulgate, Luther, and Pagninus mistook the meaning of the term properly rendered "oaks," and made it "gods" or "idols." The Zürich Bible has, Ir habend hitzen genommen under den Eychen, under allen grünen Baumen. In the first clause Coverdale feebly follows Luther's "in der Brunst," and the *incalescentes* of Pagninus, vailing somewhat the distinct allusion to the lustful heathen orgies; but the second clause is translated directly from Luther and the Zürich Bible. The Hebrew simply is "Enflamed by the oaks under every green tree," but to it, of course, Coverdale paid no attention. Whittaker's second instance is Numbers x, 31, "and thou shalt be our eye,"[1] but in rendering "oure eye," Coverdale follows the Zürich and Luther, the Hebrew being plural or rather dual, "eyes," as in Pagninus, and in the Authorized Version. In the third instance, Exodus xxxiv, 30, Coverdale varies from the Hebrew, and from Pagninus; but he follows the Zürich Bible and Luther, the Hebrew being literally, "And Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, and beheld the skin of his face shine"; Coverdale having, "And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw that the skynn of his face shyned," omitting the proper name.[2] Whittaker's last example is Daniel iii, 25, given from the Chaldee in our version, "the form of the fourth is like unto the Son of God"—the Vulgate being similar; but Coverdale renders "and the fourthe was like an angel to loke upon." Luther is literal, "a son of the gods"; but Coverdale follows the Zürich version.[3] Whittaker's argument virtually amounts to this—that in those verses in which Coverdale forsook the Vulgate and the Septuagint, he must have clung to the Hebrew. But a brief collation might have dispelled the illusion. The editor of Bagster's "English Hexapla," aware that Coverdale did not

[1] Unser auge.

[2] The Vulgate rendering of "cornutam faciem" gave rise to the popular portraits of Moses with horns. Compare Hab. iii, 4.

[3] Gleich wie ein Engel.

always follow Luther, calls his version "a faithful version of the original Scriptures," asserting that Whittaker has well defended the fame of Coverdale, but adding, "yet it must be confessed that his version is very often free, and there are some renderings so peculiar that one is at a loss to find the translator's authority, as for instance, Isaiah i, 8, "Syon is left alone like . . . a watchhouse in tyme of warre"; xvi, 1 (in modern spelling), "Then sent the lordes of the land a man of war from the rock." But the "authority" is very evident, for both versions are from the Zürich Bible, and the second is a very literal translation. Lewis, to show why Coverdale's is rightly called a "special translation"[1] gives as a sample Genesis xxix, 31, 32, setting side by side Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions. Now in these two verses Tyndale keeps by the Hebrew, omitting, however, the particle rendered "surely" and "now therefore" in our version; but Coverdale prints again an accurate translation from Luther and the Zürich Bible.

Dr. Ginsburg, in Appendix II to his Commentary on Ecclesiastes, has shown that Coverdale's version of that book rests entirely on the Zürich or Swiss-German Bible. He has made out the point beyond all dispute, though in one of his proofs he has fallen into a little blunder. In Ecclesiastes ii, 5, Coverdale has "trees of all manner fruites," representing the German,[2] and Dr. Ginsburg argues that he has even followed the Swiss construction, "at the expense of the English idiom, making manner into an adjective." But the remark is not correct, for Coverdale simply preserves an old English idiom of his own time. Thus we find "all manner herbs," Luke xi, 42, in Tyndale, Coverdale, the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops'; and the idiom still survives in the present editions of the Authorized Version, "all manner vessels of ivory," &c., Rev. xviii, 12. The same form also occurs in the Genevan and the Bishops' in 1 Peter ii, 13, "all manner ordinance." In the first issues of the Authorized Version it is met with repeatedly, Lev. vii, 23, "no manner fat," xiv, 54, "all

[1] History of Translation, p. 97, 2nd ed.

[2] Allerley früchten.

manner plague," but "of" is inserted in Dr. Scrivener's Cambridge edition. The idiom occurs also in Sir Thomas More, "what manner folk they be," and in Tyndale's Pathway, "all manner vices," though in the previous paragraph he has "two manner of people"; and Chaucer, in the Clerk's Tale, has "a manner serjeant." Thus the proofs brought forward to show that Coverdale translated at once from the Hebrew, only show that his title-page was an honest and accurate avowal. In a word, his Old Testament is not taken at all from the original Hebrew, either professedly or in fact; but is only a secondary translation, based chiefly on the Swiss-German or Zürich Bible.[1] Similar remarks may be made about the Apocrypha, from which the prayer of Manasses is excluded, because the Zürich Bible had not admitted it. There is no proof that Coverdale made any use whatever of the Hebrew text, or even that he had any fair knowledge of the Hebrew language. The name Jehovah, indeed, stands in Hebrew characters at the apex of the title-page; and Hebrew letters mark in the margin the divisions of the alphabetic chapters in the Book of Lamentation, though not in the sections of the 119th Psalm, where, however, they are found in the edition of 1550.

[1] The Zürich Bible was to a great extent a revision of Luther's, so far as he had proceeded—that is, of the Pentateuch, Historical Books, and Hagiographa, with a new translation of the Prophets and Apocrypha, and an assimilation of his language to the Swiss-German dialect. It appeared at intervals, 1524-29, and was republished in 1530. The ministers of Zürich engaged in the work were Zuingli, Leo Judæ, Pellicanus, and others. Leo Judæ, who became minister of St. Peter's Church in 1522, was not a Jew, his father's name being John Jud; but many, from the form of his name, believed him to be of Hebrew descent, so that he sometimes called himself Leo Keller; in Zürich itself he was Meister Löw, representing Leo. Pellicanus, a voluminous author, was professor of Hebrew at Zürich, his native name being Kürschner (Skinner); died in 1556.

CHAPTER XIX.

LIGHT is also thrown upon Coverdale's method of procedure by the notes which are loosely scattered throughout his Bible. These notes, especially introduced by "Some reade," let us see incidentally what translations he was consulting, as the *débris* in front of the mine reveals the nature of the strata through which the miner has been piercing his way. There are only sixty-six notes in all—forty-seven in the Old Testament and nineteen in the New—and they are very capriciously distributed, there being fifteen in Genesis, and nineteen in Exodus, while there are none in Isaiah, and only two in the Minor Prophets. The distribution in the New Testament is similar, there being eight in Matthew, only two in Romans, one in Titus, and none in the subsequent books. If the original plan may be inferred from the number of notes in Genesis, then, for some reason or other, it was not carried out, and was finally dropped. There may have been some haste in the printing of the work, and the hope of a more convenient season, if a new edition should be contemplated. The majority of the notes are from the Zürich Bible, others are taken almost equally from Pagninus[1] and Luther, and not a few from the Vulgate. But this selection of notes from "Douche and Latyn," when

[1] Sanctes Pagninus, a Dominican monk, and pupil of Savonarola, first taught Oriental literature at Rome, under the patronage of Leo X, then removed to Avignon, and finally to Lyons. He published in small folio, at Lyons, in 1528, a new Latin translation of the Bible—a work done very carefully—the translation being very literal, and the verses being marked and numbered. The edition by Arias Montanus is an interlinear gloss.

they are compared with the clauses in the text to which they are appended, verifies Coverdale's honest title-page, and shows the proportional influence of those versions on his own eclectic translation.

Genesis ii, 12. Some call it "Schoham"—Zürich Bible; text, "onyxe"—Luther and the Vulgate.

18. Some reade, "To stonde next by him"—Zürich Bible; text, "to bear him company"—Tyndale.

iii, 6. Some reade, "whyle it made wyse"—Luther; text, "a pleasant tree to make wise"—Tyndale.

16. Some read, "Thou shalt bowe downe thyselfe before thy husbande"—a paraphrase based upon Luther; text, "thy lust shall pertain unto thy husband"—Tyndale. See Münster's Note.

iv, 7. Some reade, "let it be subdued unto thee and rule thou it"—Luther and virtually Tyndale; text, "shall he be subdued unto thee, and wilt thou rule him"—Zürich Bible.

viii, 7. Some reade, "came not agayne"—Vulgate and Septuagint; text, "came again"—Zürich Bible and Tyndale who follows Luther. The Authorized Version fully represents the Hebrew.

xi, 2. Some reade, "from the east"—Vulgate and Tyndale; text, "toward the east"—Luther and the Zürich Bible.

xvii, 1. Some reade, "I am the God Schadai" (that is, plenteous in power, abundant, sufficient, and full of good)—a bracketed note in the Zürich Bible; text, "I am the Almighty God"—Vulgate and Luther.

xviii, 10. Some reade, "as soone as the frute can lyve"—Tyndale; text, "about this time twelvemonth, if I live"—Zürich Bible.

xxiii, 4. Some reade, "my corpse that lieth before me"—Luther; text, "my corpse by me"—Zürich Bible.

xxiv, 31. Some reade, "thou beloved"—Zürich Bible; text, "thou blessed of the Lord"—after Luther and the Vulgate, more correctly resembling the Hebrew.

Genesis xxvii, 35. "That my herte may wysh thee good"—virtually from the Zürich Bible; text, "my soul may bless thee"—after the Vulgate and Luther.

xxviii, 1. Some reade, "talked louingly with him"—Zürich Bible; text, "and blessed him"—Vulgate, Luther, and Tyndale.

xxxiii, 19. Some reade, "an hundreth lambes"—Vulgate, Tyndale, and Pagninus, who has in his margin, "centum nummis"; text, "an hundred pence"—Luther and the Zürich Bible reading, however, "umb hundert groschen."

xli, 45. "Zaphnath Paena, that is to saye, an expounder of secrete thinges, or a man to whom secrete thinges are opened"—the explanation being from Pagninus, with the clauses reversed, and the spelling of the Hebrew word being copied from the Zürich Bible and Tyndale. The adventurous note in our present Bibles, referring to the Coptic for explanation, is not in the first edition of 1611.

Exodus ix, 16. Some reade, "I have holden thee up"—Zürich Bible; text, "have I stirred thee up"—Luther and Tyndale.

xvi, 15. Some reade, "What is this"—Vulgate and Tyndale; text, "this is man"—Luther and Zürich Bible.

xvii, 16. That is, "the Lorde is he that lifteth me vp"—virtually from Pagninus, "dominus elevatio mea," the marginal note being "vel signum meum"; text, "the Lord Nissi"—Luther and the Zürich Bible, Tyndale having "Jehovah Nissi," with the marginal note, "that is, the Lord is he that exalteth."

xxix, 28. "Some call them peace-offeringes"—Vulgate, Luther having "thank-offerings"; text "dead-offerings"—Zürich Bible.

Num. xxxiii, 52. "Hill chapels, or altares builded vpon hilles"—the last clause being the translation of Tyndale; text, "destroy all their high places"—Vulgate and Luther.

Joshua iii, 15. Some reade, "of the haruest"—virtually Vulgate and Luther; text, "it was full of all manner waters of the land"—Zürich Bible.

Ruth iii, 3. Some reade, "Anoynte thee"—Pagninus, Luther, Vulgate, and Tyndale; text, "muffle thee"—Zürich Bible.

1 Sam. xxiii, 28. "Sela Mahelkoth, the rock of parting asunder"—Pagninus, the spelling of the Hebrew word after Luther, the explanation being a translation of his note, and of a bracketed clause in the Zürich Bible.

2 Sam. viii, 18. Some reade "rulers"—after the margin of Pagninus, Tyndale having "chief rulers"; text, "priests"—Luther and the Zürich Bible.

xvi, 22. In reference to Absalom's incestuous intercourse with his father's harem on the roof of the palace, the note is, "the houses were flat in those partes at that tyme."

1 Kings. ii, 17. That is, "He shall not denye the thy peticion"—virtually from the Vulgate, Tyndale's rendering being preserved in the Authorized Version; text, "for he shall not shame thy face"—based on Luther.

vii, 26. A Bat was a certayne measure of liquore—a note not unlike it being in Matthew's Bible.

xvi, 7. "The prophet," explanatory of "this man" in the text; the Vulgate having "that is, John the son of Hanani," and there is an alternative, rendering in the Zürich Bible.

2 Kings vi, 25. A Cab is a certayne measure, a similar note being in Matthew's Bible.

xv, 13. Some reade, "Vsia,"—Zurich Bible; text "Azarias"—Vulgate.

30. That is Asarias whom some call Vsia—a similar note in Matthew's Bible.

xxiii, 60. "That is Jechonias."

xxv, 6. Some reade, "And they talked with him of iudgment"—Zürich Bible and Pagninus; text, "And he gave judgment upon him"—Luther, the singular being also in the Vulgate.

2 Kings xxv, 23. "Otherwyse called Masphat," the Vulgate having Maspha; Matthew's Bible, Mazphag.

2 Chron. vii, 20. Some reade, "them"—Zürich and Pagninus; text, "you"—Vulgate.

xxii, 6. "That is Ochosias, otherwyse called Ahasia," the first name being in the Vulgate, and the second in Luther; text, "Azarias"—Zürich Bible.

Ezra iii, 7. Otherwyse called "Japho"—Zürich Bible; text, "Joppa," after Vulgate and Tyndale.

Nehemiah ix, 10. Some reade, "them," the same note being repeated in Matthew's Bible after Zürich Bible; text, "madest thee a name"—Vulgate.

Job iii, 3. "Simile Jere, xx"—a reference to the striking similitude of language.

ix, 9. "Some call these seven starres the clock hen with hir chekens."

Ps. xiv, 5, 6, 7. "These three verses are not in the Hebrue." They are found in the Vulgate and Septuagint, and are quoted in Romans iii, 11, &c.

xxxvii, 21. Some reade thus, "the vngodly lendeth vpon vsury, and not for naught"—Zürich Bible, "auff wücher leycht der gottloss"; text, "the ungodly borroweth & payeth not again"—Vulgate, Luther, and Pagninus.

xl, 6. Some reade thus, "but myne ears hast thou opened"—Luther and the Zürich Bible; text, "a body hast thou ordained me," which, however, is not in accordance with the Hebrew. Compare Hebrews x, 5.

Jeremiah i, 18. "Or brass"—Vulgate; the text correctly, "a wall of steel."

Amos vii, 7. "Some call it a lyne," after Pagninus, Luther having "plumb-line"; text, "a mason's trowell"—Zürich Bible, which has the alternative reading Richtschnür, technically meaning a level.

Malachi ii, 15. "The one"—"This the interpreters reken to be spoken of Abraham," as in the note of Pagninus, "unus quidam Abraham"; text, "so did not the one"—Luther, but "excellent spirit" is from the same note of Pagninus.

The Zürich Bible adopts quite a different interpretation, "he has not only made the man (but the wife) also."

Matthew i, 18. Some reade, "before they sat at home together"—Zürich Bible; text, "before they came together," after Erasmus.

ii, 6. Some reade, "least"—Luther and the Zürich Bible, the more correct "less" of the text being from Tyndale's second edition.

xvi, 13. Some reade, "that I the sonne of man am"—Tyndale's second edition; text, "that the son of man is"—Luther.

xx, 25. Some reade, "the greatest deale with violence," after Luther; text, "exercise power"—Tyndale's second edition.

xxiii, 5. "Philateries were writinges wherein the commaundementes were wrytten."

15. "Proselyte, a nouyce or conuerte, turned from the beleue of the Heythen vntò the Jewes."

25. Some reade, "vncleannes"—Zurich Bible; text, "excess"—Tyndale's second edition.

xxvi, 7. Some reade, "a glas with precious water"—Luther; text, "a box with precious ointment"—after Tyndale.

Mark i, 11. Some reade, "in whom I am pacified"—Luther; text, "in whom I delight"—Tyndale.

iii, 21. Some reade, "He wil go out of his witt," after Luther; text, "he taketh too much upon him," after the Zürich Bible.

xiii, 9. Some reade, "councell-houses," after Luther; text, "councils"—Tyndale.

Luke i, 39. "the city of Jewry," the note being "Jerusalem." Incorrect, however, for it was not the city of Judah referred to.

Acts ix, 40. Some reade, "She sat up"—Tyndale's second edition; text, "she sat her down again"—Vulgate and Luther.

xv, 3. Some reade, "conuersion"—Tyndale's second edition; text, "conversation"—Luther and Tyndale's first edition.

Acts xvii, 18. Some reade, "devyls"—Tyndale; text, "gods" —Luther.

xxvii, 17. "Syrtes are perlous places in the see."

Romans iii, 28. Some reade, "By faith onely"—Luther; text, "through faith"—Tyndale.

x, 17. Some reade, "By preachynge"—Luther; text, "by hearing"—Tyndale.

Titus. i, 12. "Epimenides," referred to as their awne prophet.

At the end of the Psalms, the Note on Sela bears, "In the Psalter, the word Sela commeth very oft, and (after the mynde of the interpreters) it is as much to say as allwaye, contynually, for ever, forsoyth, verily, a liftinge up of the voyce, or to make a pause & earnestly to consider & to ponder the sentence." But such terms as Maschil or Michtam, and the title Song of Degrees are omitted by him. Coverdale, leaning more to the Vulgate, neglected the shorter prefatory notes of Luther and the fuller ones of the Zürich Bible. To add some significance to proper names, he gives for Cush—Ethiopia, "the Morians" —Moors, after Luther and the Zürich Bible; Rabsaris, he makes chief chamberlain, and Rabshakeh chief butler, both after Luther and the Zürich Bible. He has the better translation in Gen. xlix, 6, "they houghed an oxe"; after Tyndale and against the Vulgate, but virtually after his two German authorities.

A brief collation of a few verses of Genesis, as found in Tyndale (Matthew) and Coverdale, will bear out the previous statements as to the use made by Coverdale of the German versions.

Verse	TYNDALE. GENESIS XXII.	COVERDALE.
1	After these dedes, God dyd proue Abraham, & sayde vnto hym; Abraham. And he answered, Here am I.	After these actes God tempted Abraham, & sayde vnto him, Abraham, And he answered, I am here.
2	And he sayde: take thy onely sonne Isaac whom thou louest, and get the vnto the land Moria, & sacrifice hym there for a sacrifice vpon one of the moun-	And he sayde: Take thy sonne, this onely sonne of thine, even Isaac whom thou louest, and go thy waye in to the londe of Moria, & offre him there for a burnt-

TYNDALE. GENESIS XXII. COVERDALE.

Verse

taynes whiche I wylle shewe the.

offerynge vpon a mountayne that I shal shew the.

3 Than Abraham rose vp early in the morninge & sadled his asse, & toke two of his meyny with hym, & Isaac his sonne, & cloue wod for the sacrifyce, & rose vp & got him to the place which God had appoynted hym.

Then Abraham stode vp by tymes in the mornynge, & sadled his asse, & toke with him two yonge men, & his sonne Isaac, & clove wodd for the brentofferynge, gat him vp, & went on vnto the place wherof the Lorde had sayde vnto him.

4 The thirde daye Abraham lyfte vp his eyes, & sawe the place a farre of.

Vpon the thirde daye Abraham lift vp his eyes, & sawe the place a farre of.

5 And said vnto his yonge men: byde here with the asse, I & the lad wyll goo yonder & worshyp, & come agayne vnto you.

and sayde vnto his yonge men: Tary ye here with the Asse; as for me & the childe, we wyl go yonder: & when we haue worshipped, we wyll come to you againe.

6 And Abraham toke the wood of the sacrifice, & layde it vpon Isaac hys sonne, & toke fyre in his hande, & a knyfe. And they wente bothe of them together.

And Abraham toke the wodd to the brentofferynge, & layed it vpon Isaac his sonne. As for himself, he toke the fyre and a knyfe in his hande, & wente on both together.

7 Than spake Isaac vnto Abraham his father & sayde: My father. And he answered, here am I my sonne. And he sayd: Se here is fyre & wood but where is the shepe for sacrifice?

Then sayde Isaac vnto his father Abraham: My father. Abraham answered, here I am, my sonne. And he sayde, Lo, here is fyre & wodd, but where is the shepe for the brentofferynge?

8 And Abraham sayde: my sonne, God wyl provyde hym a shepe for sacrifice. So wente they bothe together.

Abraham answered: my sonne, God shall provyde him a shepe for the brentofferynge. And they wente both together.

9 And when they came vnto the place whiche God shewed him, Abraham made an aulter there, & dressed the wod, & bownde Isaac his sonne, & layd him on the aulter aboue vpon the wod.

And whan they came to the place which God shewed him, Abraham buylded there an altare, & layed the wodd vpon it, & bande his sonne Isaac, layed him on the altare, aboue vpon the wodd,

Verse	TYNDALE. GENESIS XXII.	COVERDALE.
10	And Abraham stretched forth his hande & toke the knyfe, to haue kylled his sonne.	and stretched oute his hande, & toke the knyfe, to haue slayne his sonne.
11	Than the angell of the Lorde called vnto him from heauen, sayinge: Abraham, Abraham. And he answered, here am I.	Then the angell of the Lorde called from heauen vnto him & sayde: Abraham, Abraham. He answered: here am I.
12	And he sayde: laye not thy handes vpon the chylde, nether do anye thynge at all vnto him, for nowe I knowe that thou fearest God, in that thou haste not kepte thyne onely sonne from me.	He sayde: Laye not thy handes vpon the childe, & do nothinge vnto him: for now I knowe that thou fearest God, & hast not spared thine onely sonne for my sake.
13	And Abraham lyfted vp his eyes and loked aboute, & beholde there was a ram caughte by the hornes in a thykette. And he went & toke the ram & offred him vp for a sacrifyce in the steade of his sonne.	Then Abraham lift vp his eyes & sawe behynde him a ramme, holden fast by the hornes in the breres, & wente & toke the ramme, & offred him for a brent-sacrifice in steade of his sonne.
14	And Abraham called the name of the place, the Lord wyll see: wherefore it is a comen saying this day: in the mounte wyll the Lorde be sene.	And Abraham called the place: The Lorde shall prouyde: Therefore it is a comon sayenge yet this daye, Vpon the mountayne shal the Lorde prouyde.

In this paragraph Tyndale for the most part follows the Hebrew, and now and then agrees with the Vulgate; but Coverdale in every instance where he forsakes Tyndale is led by Luther and the Zürich Bible. Nay, he deserts both Luther and the Vulgate in not a few places in his Bible in order to follow the Swiss-German version. There is at the same time ample evidence that Coverdale consulted the portions of the Old Testament which Tyndale had published. Every page of his Pentateuch is flecked with clauses suggested by Tyndale's version, but he does not seem to have made any use of the "Epistles from the Old Testament," appended to the edition of 1534.

The New Testament of Coverdale is greatly superior to his

Old Testament. Its basis is Tyndale, with many variations, especially in the Epistles. Yet with all these variations, it rests so completely on Tyndale's New Testament, especially that of 1534, that it may be called a new edition of it—nay, it is in some books a mere reprint—the changes that do occur being due, as may be anticipated, to the Zürich version. Thus in the first section of John xv, 1, "a" for "the"; 2, "bringeth forth" for "beareth," "shall be cut off" for "he will take away," both in the Zürich Bible; 3, "because of" for "through" (thorow) "propter," Vulgate; 4, "like as" for "as"; "even so neither ye also" for "no more can ye"; 6, "branch" for "vine"; 7, "ye shall ask" for "ask." These changes are suggested by the Vulgate and the German versions. In the first chapter of Galatians there are over twenty clauses differing from Tyndale. Of these five are from Tyndale's second edition, the others from the Vulgate and the German translations. The first section of Galatians iii shows some revision. In verse 2 the "else" of Tyndale is omitted, and in 3 the participle is turned into a finite verb, "ye beganne"; the statement in 4 is made a question, "have ye suffered so much?" in 5, "which ministereth" becomes "he that giveth," and "miracles" is altered into "great actes"; in 6, "ascribed to" is changed into "counted to"; in 7, "this ye know" takes the place of "understand therefore"; in 8, "justify," the ethical present supersedes "would justify;" "and said" is a supplement from the Zürich Bible, and "heathen" is used for "nations"; in 10, "go about with" is suggested by the "umgehen" of the Zürich Bible; "to do them" is better than "to fulfil them." These variations, made some of them for the sake of clearness and rhythm, all rest on the Douche and Latyn versions which Coverdale so honestly professed to follow.

In the Epistles of St. John, Tyndale has also been revised, and some of the connecting particles changed; and similarly in St. Peter, some of the variations being found in the Authorized Version, as i, 3, "according to"; 4, "fadeth not." St. James is a mere reprint, and so is St. Jude—the chief, if not the only change, in the former Epistle being a conformity to Tyndale's first edition; the omission of the words "with sophistry" in

James i, 22. Rev. ii, 3, "for my name's sake hast laboured" is taken also from the first edition, the strange rendering of the edition of 1534, "and dydest wasshe thyself," the reading of Erasmus in 1516 and 1519.[1]

Some of Coverdale's renderings in other parts of Galatians are retained in the Authorized Version, such as iii, 6, "counted"; 10, "under curse"; 15, "confirmed"; 24, "unto Christ"; 29, "according to promise," Tyndale having "ascribed"; "malediction," "allowed," "unto the time of Christ," "by promise." Many of his translations in other parts of the New Testament are also preserved in our present version, and these are better than Tyndale's of 1534. Matt. ii, 12, "In a dream"; iii, 14, "I have need to be"; vi, 10, "thy kingdom"; 12, "debts"; vii, 21, "the will of my Father"; x, 41, "a righteous man's reward"; xiii, 30, "till the harvest"; xvi, 3, "it will be foul weather to-day"; xvii, 6, "overshadowed"; xxi, 28, "but what think ye?" xxiii, 9, "One is your Father"; xxiv, 28, "there will the eagles be gathered together"; xxv, 21, "enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Canon Westcott refers to two other renderings in 1 John ii, 16, "the pride of life," and 17, "the world passeth away." The fact is that, in the Authorized Version, Tyndale's renderings are adopted about three times oftener than those of Coverdale, though in many cases both are refused, even when they agree together. Other clauses not preserved in the current translation are also very good. Galatians iv, 5, "that we might receive the childship," is preferable to Tyndale's circuitous phrase, "that we through election might receive the inheritance which belongeth unto the natural sons"; vi, 1, "overtaken of a fault"; Tyndale, "fallen by chance into a fault"; 2 Thessalonians i, 7, "with the angels of his power," Tyndale having "with his mighty angels." Like Tyndale, he has the terms to which Sir Thomas More so vehemently objected, "love" and "congregation" which "charity" and "church" afterwards superseded. He has also, as Tyndale had, "knowledge" for "confess," and both use "similitude" for "parable"; but for Tyndale's

[1] Referring in his Annotations to two editions, Erasmus brands it this reading, though he kept it in thus—*sed mendax ni fallor.*

"repent" in Matt. iii, 1, he has "amend your selves." "Centurion" in Tyndale is "captain" in Coverdale; "unleavened bread" is "sweet bread," in both an imitation of Luther's sütsesbrod, the contrast being suggested by sauerteig (leaven). After him they both have "Easter," and occasionally "Easter lamb." But with all the excellencies of his version no one who has looked into the question can accept the statement of Geddes, that the Authorized Version is "of less merit, and is less in accordance with the original, than that of Coverdale."

CHAPTER XX.

THERE are, as might be anticipated from the man and the time, many quaint and antique renderings in Coverdale.

Gen. viii, 11, and she bare it (an olive leaf) in her nebb—the last term being still in familiar use among Scottish boys.

Joshua ii, 11, our hert hath failed us, neither is there a good stomacke in eny man.

Judges vi, 19, layed the flesh in a maunde and put the broth in a pot; x, 53, cast a pece of a mylstone upon Abimelech's heade and brake his brain panne; xi, 39, she had never been in daunger of eny man (Romans, iii, 19, and that all the world may be endangered to God);[1] xv, 19, then God opened a gome tooth in the cheke bone, so the water went out; xvii, 5, the man Micah had a god's house, and made an overbody cote (ephod) and idols; xx, 32, let us flye, that we may provoke them out of the city into the bye stretes.

Ruth ii, 1, Boaz, which was an honest man.

1 Sam. iv, 17, then answered the tydinge bringer and sayde; x, 1, then toke Samuel a glasse of oyle and poured it upon his head; xx, 30, thou wicked and unthryfte, I know that thou hast chosen the son of Isai to the shame of thyselff and of thy shameful mother; xxi, 13, and stackered towarde the dores of the gate, and his slaveringes ranne downe his beerde; xxv, 18, five sheep ready dighted, and five measures of firmentye.

2 Sam. xiii, 6, make me a syppynge or two; xiv, 14, and God will not take away the lyfe, but unbethynketh himself that even the very outlaw be not clean thrust out from him; xxii,

[1] Bishop's Bible.

11, He sat upon cherub and dyd flye, and appeared upon the fethers of the wynde.

1 Kings xii, 11, I will nourtoure you with scorpions; xvii, 12, a curtesy oyle in a cruse; xxii, 34, and shott the king of Israel between the mawe and the lunges.

2 Chron, xxv, 12, and cast them downe headlinges from the toppe of the mount, so that they all to burst in sunder.

Job iii, 5, let it be lapped in with sorowe; v, 7, it is man that is borne vnto mysery, lyke as the byrde for to fle; vi, 16, they that feare the horefroste, the snow shal fal vpon them; xiii, 4, As for you, ye are workmasters of lyes; xiv, 1, Whether his children come to worship or no, he can not tell; xvii, 1, My breth fayleth, my dayes are shortened, I am hard at deathes dore; xix, 17, Myne owne wyfe may not abyde my breth: I am fayne to speake fayre vnto the children of mine owne body; 18, Yee the very deserte fooles despyse me; xxxix, 25, He feareth not the noyse of the trompettes; but as soon as he heareth the shawmes blowe, tush (sayeth he), for he smelleth the batell afarre of.

Psalm xiv, 1, The foolish bodyes saye in their hertes, Tush, there is no God; lxviii, 11, the Lorde shal geve the worde with greate hoostes of evangelistes; lxxiv, 5, men maye se the axes glister aboue, like as those that hewe in the wod. They cutt downe all the sylinge worke of ye sanctuary with bylles and axes. xci, 5, thou shalt not nede to be afrayde of eny bugges by night; cxix, 70, their herte is as fat as brawn.[1]

Prov. xvi, 18, after a proude stomacke there followeth a fall 28, he that is a blabbe of his tonge maketh devysion; xvii, 14, he that soweth discorde and strife is like on that dyggeth up a water broke; xxiii, 2, measure their appetite.

Isaiah ii, 4, So that they shal breake their swerdes and speares, to make sythes, sycles, and sawes thereof; 6, or in calkers of mens byrthes; v, 9, the Lord of hoostes rowneth me thus; 22, Wo vnto them that are connynge men to suppe

[1] Luther, dick wie Schmeer; Vulgate, sicut lac. Brawns occurs in Wycliffe, Job xxii, 9; the second version having "schuldris"—shoulders. Chaucer has "full big he was of braun." Grease of our version came from the Genevan, and it is nearer in sense to the Hebrew term.

out wyne; 27, no one faynte nor feble amonge them, no not a slogish or nor slepery parsone; vi, 2, From aboue flakred the seraphins; 4, the geastes and dore chekes moued at their crienge; x, 15, or doth the sawe make eny krakinge against him that ruleth it; xxiv, 20, The erth shal geue a greate crack, it shal haue a sore ruyne, and take an horrible fall; xliv, 6, and do wherthorow he maye be lickened vnto me; lvi, 3, neither shal the gelded man saye, I am a drie tre.

Jer. viii, 52, there is no triacle in Galaad. xvii, 1, graven vpon the edge of your aulters with a pen of iron and with an adamant clawe.

Dan. ix, 26, after the lxvii weekes shall Christ be slain, and they shall haue no pleasure in him.

Hosea xi, 3, I learned Ephram to go.

Matt. ii, 2, the newe borne kynge.

Mark iii, 21, he taketh to moch vpon him; vi, 2, marueled at his lernynge; viii, 16, their myndes wauered here and there; xv, 29, Fye vpon the, how goodly breakest thou downe the temple.

Luke x, 40, Martha made her self moch to do; xi, 8, because of his vnshamefast begginge.

John i, 38, Where art thou at lodginge? xviii, 39, that I should give one vnto you lowse at easter.

Acts v, 14, layed them vpon beddes and barowes; vi, 1, because their wyddowes were not loked vpon in the daylie handreachinge; xvii, 11, they were the Eldest amonge them at Thessalonica.

1 Cor. ii, 1, I came not with hye words.

2 Cor. i. 18, O faitfull God, that oure worde vnto you hath not bene yee and naye.

Eph, iv, 16, one member hangeth by another thorowout all the iontes.

Philip. i, 10, that maybe pure and soch as hurte no man's conscience.

Colos. ii, 10, Let no man make you shote at a wronge mark, which after his owne chosynge walketh in humbleness and spiritualyte of angels, thinges which he neuer sawe.

1 Tim. vi, 4, but waysteth his brayne aboute questions and stryuynges of wordes.

Obsolete terms sometimes occur, as "to clyp"—to shear sheep; a "maund," a large basket; "body," the foolish bodyes saye in their hertes; "symnel," a cake; "lever," rather; "to spar," that is, to close the door—spar meaning bar. Still several of his phrases have also descended to us—Judges v, "a lordly dish;" "garments of needlework;" Tyndale (Matthew) having a different rendering; and we have still many verses with almost no change. Many such passages occur in the Psalter, as Psalms li, 11; lxiii, 2; cii, 25; cxliii, 2.

Though Coverdale may not be everywhere correct, he is always musical. A few examples may suffice in proof:—

Psalm xc, 10, The dayes of oure age are thre score yeares and ten; xcix, 1, The Lord is kynge, be the people never so impacient: he sytteth vpon the cherubins, be the earth never so vnquiete.

Isaiah xlviii, 16-19, Wherfore the Lorde God with his sprete hath sent me. And thus saieth the Lord, thine avenger, the holyone of Israel: I am the Lorde thy God, which teach the profitable thinges, and lede ye the waye, that thou shuldest go. Yf thou wilt now regarde my commaundement, thy welthynes shalbe as the water streame, and thy rightuousnes as the waues flowinge in the see: Thy sede shalbe like as the sonde in the see, and the frute of thy body like the grauel stones therof; thy name shal not be roted out, nor destroyed before me.

Though Coverdale's version was only secondary, yet it possessed merits of its own. The gentle flow of its English is idiomatic and fresh, though many words and phrases are now antiquated, and it may still be read with pleasure in the Psalms of the English Book of Common Prayer, of which it is the basis. His own "Ghostly Psalms" are sometimes a little rugged; but his prose translation is beautiful in its rhythm. The simple grandeur of many portions of Isaiah and the prophets was initiated by him. He often omits, like Tyndale, connecting particles, and smoothness is now and then secured by a paraphrase at the expense of terseness and brevity. Changes of order, variations of renderings, tuneful turns of phrase, resolution of participles and relative pronouns, and

numerous literary dexterities are used to secure the same result, a result that still gives tone and cadence to the Authorized Version. No little of that indefinable quality that gives popular charm to our English Bible, and has endeared it to so many generations, is owing to Coverdale. The semitones in the music of the style are his gift.[1] What we mean will be apparent to any one who compares the Authorized Version, especially in the Old Testament, with the exacter translations of many of the books which have been made by scholars and critics. Tyndale gave us the first great outline distinctly and wonderfully etched, but Coverdale added those minuter touches which soften and harmonize it. The characteristic features are Tyndale's in all their boldness of form and expression, the more delicate lines and shadings are the contribution of his successor, both in his own version and in the Great Bible revised and edited by him.

The first edition of Coverdale's Bible was soon exhausted, and the thirst for possessing a copy was even growing. But though the Dedication to the king secured no royal license or patronage, the work was not forbidden or suppressed. When, in June, 1536, Convocation prayed the king "that he would indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation of it might be made for that end and purpose," the resolution amounted to a virtual condemnation of Coverdale's version.

In 1537 two editions—one in quarto, the other in folio—"overseen and corrected," were printed in London by James Nycolson, St. Thomas, Southwark; and at the foot of the title-page are the wondrous words, "Set forth with the Kynge's most gracious license"; the name of Queen Jane being substituted for that of Queen Anne in the dedication. Was Tyndale's dying prayer now answered, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes"?

Coverdale was always anxious that his countrymen should have free access to the Word of God in their own language, and that all the current prejudices against a native version should

[1] Even the rough and rugged Bale describes his style "as sweet and smooth, and flowing gently along."

be disarmed. To show them that a vernacular New Testament did not of necessity misrepresent the Latin one with which they were so familiar in the church service, he rendered it into the mother tongue, and printed it in both languages—the Vulgate and an English translation in parallel columns. Three editions of this Diglott Testament were published in 1538, the first by James Nycolson, with a dedication to the king and a preface to the reader. In the dedication Coverdale explains his purpose and method of procedure. The enemies of an English Bible are thus described: "Because it grieveth them that your subjects be grown so far in knowledge of their duty to God, to your grace, and to their neighbours, their inward malice doth break out into blasphemous and uncomely words; insomuch that they call your loving and faithful people heretics, new-fangled fellows, English biblers, cobblers of divinity, fellows of the new faith, &c., with such other ungodly sayings. It is to be feared that forwardness and malice is mixed with their ignorance. For, inasmuch as in our other translations we do not follow this old Latin text, word for word, they cry out upon us as though all were not as nigh the truth to translate the Scripture out of other languages as to turn it out of the Latin, or as though the Holy Ghost were not the author of His Scripture as well in the Hebrew, Greek, French, Dutch, and in English, as in Latin. The Scripture and Word of God is truly to every Christian man of like worthiness and authority, in what language soever the Holy Ghost speaketh it." Another motive alleged by him in printing the Latin and English text in parallel columns so as specially to induce and instruct "such as can but English, and are not learned in the Latin, that in comparing these two texts together they may the better understand the one by the other. And I doubt not but such ignorant bodies as, having cure and charge of souls, are very unlearned in the Latin tongue, shall through this small labour be occasioned to attain unto more knowledge, and at the least be constrained to say well of the thing which heretofore they have blasphemed."

The version is his own, carefully and minutely adapted to the Vulgate, "inasmuch as the New Testament which I had set

forth in English before doth so agree with the Latin, I was heartily well content that the Latin and it should be set together." Thus in Mark i, and suggested by the Latin :—

	ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT.	DIGLOTT AFTER THE VULGATE.[1]
1	in the prophet.	in Esaye the prophet.
	my messenger.	mine angel.
4	baptized and preached.	baptizing and preaching.
	amendment.	penance.
5	and they of Jerusalem.	all they of Jerusalem.
	in Jordan.	in the river of Jordan.
	knowledging their sins.	confessing.
8	I baptized.	I have baptized.
9	at the same time.	in those days.
10	he was come out of.	coming up out of.
	as a dove comynge downe.	descending and abiding.
11	in whom I delyt.	in thee am I pleased.
13	with the wylde beestes.	with beastes.

The first edition was "negligently corrected" during Coverdale's absence in Paris—was in fact so badly executed that he was forced to disown it, for it was in many places "base, insensible, and clean contrary, not only to the phrase of our language, but from the understanding." "Weeding out the faults," he superintended a new edition in Paris, printed by Francis Regnault and published by Grafton & Whitechurch, with a dedication to "Crumwell, Lord Privy Seal and Vicegerent to the King's Highness."[2] In spite of his remonstrance and

[1] In Isaia propheta, angelum meum ; 4, baptizans et predicans, penitentiæ ; 5, Hierosolymitæ universi, in Jordanis flumine, confitentes ; 8, baptizavi ; 9, in diebus istis ; 10, ascendens, descendentem et manentem ; 11, in te complacui ; 13, cum bestiis. The Wycliffite versions taken from the Latin text are quite different, having for "prepare," in 3, "make redy"; in 5, the first version has "flood," and the second "flom," and both have the Saxon "knowledged"; in 6, the first version has "honey of the woods," and in 7 it gives "thong." The translations, 9, "it was done," and 11, "a voice was made," are in accordance with the constant literalism of these older versions.

[2] "The New Testament, both in Latin & English, after the vulgare texte, which is red in the churche. Translated & corrected by Myles Coverdale, and prynted in Paris by Fraunces Regnault, MCCCCCXXXVIII,

of an apology put forward for him by Grafton, Nycolson printed another edition, affixing to it the name of John Hollybushe as translator; but with this volume Coverdale had no concern—it was, in fact, a revision of his own version. It was this Hollybushe's New Testament, an avowed translation from the Vulgate, that led Macknight so far astray in his opinion of Tyndale.

Coverdale's Bible, printed at Zürich by Froschover, with the strange misprint of "By Mayst. Thomas Mathewe" on the title-page, was published in London (Andrewe Hester) in 1550, and there was also another issue of it in 1553, with a new title and kalendar (R. Jugge). Coverdale's subsequent Biblical labours in connection with the Great Bible will be immediately noticed.

in Novembre. Prynted for Richard Grafton & Edward Whitechurch, citizens of London. Cum gratia et privilegio Regis."

THOMAS MATTHEW'S BIBLE.

"THEN, amidst the hymns and halleluiahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate Thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land, throughout all ages, whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian at that day, when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth, when they, undoubtedly, that, by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country shall receive, above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones, into their glorious titles, and, in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss in over-measure for ever."

MILTON.

CHAPTER XXI.

TOWARD the conclusion of his Prologue to the reader, Coverdale, with characteristic candour and self-oblivion, had said of his Bible: "And though it be not worthily ministered unto thee in this translation, by reason of my rudeness: yet, if thou be fervent in thy prayer, God shall not only send it thee in a better shape by the ministration of other that began it afore,[1] but shall also move the hearts of them which as yet meddled not withal to take it in hand, and to bestow the gift of their understanding thereon, as well in our language as other interpreters do in other languages." The first part of the anticipation was not realized, as a few months after the words were written Tyndale was put to death. But the second part was fulfilled, though not exactly in the way which the prediction indicated, for a short time after the publication of Coverdale's version, another volume of Scripture made its appearance, and in peculiar circumstances. Though it was really a compilation and not a new version, and though it was published under another name than that of its compiler, it was destined to produce lasting results. This Bible was a folio, with the following title: "The Bible, which is all the Holy Scriptures, in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testaments, truely and purely translated into Englysh, by Thomas Matthew. Esaye I, Hearcken to, ye heavens, and thou earth, geave eare: for the Lorde speaketh. MDXXXVII." The handsome title is printed in the centre of a large engraving which fills the page, and has at the bottom, in large red characters, "Set forth with the kinges most gracyous lycence.'

[1] The reference being to Tyndale.

At the end of the exhortation to the study of the Holy Scriptures, which occupies one page, are printed, in large flourished capitals, I. R., John Rogers. The volume, in larger folio than Coverdale's Bible, consists of 1,110 pages, with sixty lines in a full page. The printing is in black letter, foreign in appearance, and there are nearly eighty woodcuts, two of them at the beginning of Psalms and Proverbs, filling the whole breadth of the page. On the reverse of the title itself, which is in black and red, is a short table of contents; then follow, covering four pages, a kalendar, and almanac for eighteen years, beginning with 1538; and it ends by telling "the yere has fifty-two weekes and six houres." The dedication to the king, Henry VIII, succeeds, and embraces three pages, with large flourished capitals at the commencement and conclusion. The next twenty-six pages are taken up with "a table of the pryncypall matters conteyned in the Byble," headed with a short address to the Chrysten readers. The succeeding page bears upon it "The names of all the Bokes of the Byble . . . and a Brief Rehersall of the yeares passed since the begynnynge of the worlde unto this yeare of oure Lord MDXXXVII;" there being on the reverse a large engraving of Adam and Eve in paradise. The title-page of the New Testament, in black and red, which has the same ornamental engravings as that of the Old Testament, is, "The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesu Christ, newly and dylygently translated into Englyshe, with annotacions in the margent to helpe the reader to the understandynge of the texte. Prynted in the yere of our Lorde God, M.D.XXXVII." Five pages at the end of the New Testament are taken up with tables of the Epistles and Gospels, after Salsbury use, &c. On the last leaf is "The end of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Byble. To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God, a M.D.XXXVII." The disputed text about the "three witnesses," in 1 John v, 7, is in smaller type. The following errata occur—in John xx, 25, the clause "put my finger into the holes of the nails" is omitted; so is the clause in 1 Cor. xi, 25, "This cup is the new testament in my blood"; and Rev. iii, 17, is printed "because thou art rich,"

the words "sayest thou" being left out. In Hebrews vi, 1, we find "Therefore let us love the doctrine," for "let us *leave*." The initials I. R. point out the editor of the volume as John Rogers, the first of the Marian martyrs, Thomas Matthew being merely assumed; or, if the name belonged to an actual person, no one has been at all able to identify him.

John Rogers was born about 1500, probably in a hamlet called Deritend, now swallowed up by the city of Birmingham. He was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, taking his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1525. Foxe simply says of his academic life, "he profitably travailed in good learning."[1] According to one authority, he was chosen the same year a junior canon in Cardinal College, Oxford, and entered into holy orders.[2] He next became rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity,[3] or Trinity the Less, in London, on the 26th of December, 1532, having been presented to the living by the prior and convent of St. Mary Overy in Southwark. This position he voluntarily resigned before the end of 1534, for his successor was admitted on 24th October of that year. It is probable that some change of religious opinion induced him to quit England for Antwerp, where he officiated for a time as chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers.[4] At this epoch he had not formally left the popish communion, but did his priestly duties "according to the use and custom of the worshippers of idols." His views ripened "by little and little," and "day by

[1] Foxe, vol. VI, p. 591.

[2] Lewis, History of Translations of the Bible, p. 223, London, 1818.

[3] This old church, "which stood on the south side of Knight Riders Street, in the eastern part thereof," was burned down in the great fire of 1666, and the parish was united to that of St. Michaels, Queenhithe. Newcourt Repert., vol. I, p. 556, &c., Life of John Rogers, by Joseph Lemuel Chester, London, 1861.

[4] Lambert the martyr, converted by Bilney to reformed opinions, was also chaplain afterwards "for the space of a year and more." A description of the locality, and present appearance of the Merchants' House, may be found in Demaus, Life of Tyndale, p. 413, &c. The Merchant Adventurers were an old guild or corporation, and were originally called "Merchants of St. Thomas à Becket." They had a special charter, and many privileges, and in this way rose superior to an older body still—the "Merchants of the Staple."

day," till at length he embraced evangelical truth in its fulness —this complete change being fostered and perfected by his intimacy with William Tyndale and, Foxe adds, with Myles Coverdale. This friendship could not have lasted more than a few months, for Tyndale was martyred on the 6th October, 1536. As the result and token of final separation from the Church of Rome, Rogers followed the example of Luther, and, probably in 1537, married Adriana Pratt or de Weyden,[1] "more richly endowed with virtue and soberness of life, than with worldly treasures." When he came back with his wife to England, in the early part of the reign of Edward the Sixth, they brought with them eight children; and in his appeal to the Lord Chancellor, on 29th January, 1555, that Mrs. Rogers might be allowed to visit him in prison, he stated that he had been married eighteen years. After his marriage, which may have brought him into peril, he went to Wittenberg, and having now thoroughly mastered German, he was inducted into the pastoral charge of a congregation, to which he ministered for several years. Rogers had come to Antwerp a few months after the execution of Frȳth; and since he had been with Tyndale, as Tyndale had been with Luther, Melanchthon, and their great associates — the peerage of the Reformation, it was natural that he should interest himself in the work of translating Scripture—a work which he saw in busy process every day of Tyndale's life, prior to his arrest and imprisonment. Familiarity led, no doubt, to admiration, and admiration at length enlisted co-operation and assistance.

A mystery hangs over the employment of the name Matthew in connection with this work of Rogers. Foxe says simply, and without any definite proof or illustration, "It seemed good to them which had the doing thereof to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name was odious, and to father it by a strange name of Thomas Matthew."[2] That ground is quite intelligible only so far as Tyndale is concerned. But a large portion of the Old Testament, and the entire Apocrypha, are certainly the work of Coverdale. Strype merely states the meagre fact, that Rogers "dedicated the whole

[1] Both names mean *meadow*.

[2] Vol. V, p. 412.

book to King Henry, under the name of Thomas Matthew, minding to conceal his own name."[1] But the reason so alleged is not strictly true, for the name of John Rogers was not really concealed, and his initials, I. R., stand at the end of the "Exhortation to the study of the Holy Scriptures." It has also been surmised that Thomas Matthew may have furnished money for the outlay, or may have had some other close connection with the volume. Indeed, the question presents a peculiar dilemma. The name is known only in its connection with this Bible; if Matthew was only a myth, or a man without a shadow, why are he and Rogers both indicated by distinct and separate names or initials in the volume, as if they were different individuals? and if he were an actual coadjutor in flesh and blood, how happened it that he fell so soon into oblivion, that his name came to be looked on by shrewd lawyers as a mere fiction, the transparent disguise of an alias? For there is no doubt that Rogers was officially identified with Matthew, and this within twenty years of the publication of the Bible. In the sentence which doomed him to the stake, he is four times called "Johannes Rogers[2] *alias* Matthew"; in Foxe's translation, "John Rogers otherwise called Matthew"; and in the Council Register of Queen Mary, "John Rogers *alias* Matthew is ordered to keep his house at Paul's." During the trial there was indeed no charge based on the Bible, for he was not the translator. Besides, his volume in its first form had been published with the king's license, and on being revised it had already passed into the Great Bible, published also under royal sanction. But Bishop Gardyner, presiding as chancellor, makes plain allusion to the dedication of the Bible, and twitted him as having acknowledged King Henry VIII to be supreme head of the Church, the dedication being to the "most noble and gracious prince, King Henry VIII, king of England, . . . defender of the faith, and, under God, the chief and supreme head of the Church of England." In 1542 a list of books forbidden

[1] Memorials of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 185, Oxford, 1848.

[2] The sentence runs—*contra te, Johannem Rogers alias Matthew, presbyterum secularem.*

specifies the notes of the Bible as "of Thomas Matthew's doing." In the reprint of this Bible, in 1551, the initial capital A is not only ornamented, but often there are engraved in its lower and wider part the letters I. R., and sometimes I is found on the one side of the apex and R on the other. So deeply indeed had the identity of Thomas Matthew and John Rogers sunk into the popular mind, that the lines of another martyr, Robert Smith, burned at Uxbridge, 8th August, 1555, were ascribed to him, and were published, not only as "Maister Rogers' Ryme to his Children," but also as "the Exhortation of Matthew Rogers."[1] It is thus plain that nobody at the time seems to have suspected that Matthew was other than John Rogers; but why that name should have been selected cannot now be ascertained.[2]

The origination of the volume is also hidden from us. What suggested the preparation of it is nowhere stated. Only it may be surmised that Rogers wished the English people to be put in possession of a complete English Bible, embodying all that the martyred Tyndale had already rendered; for he had rendered from the original texts, whereas Coverdale's was only a secondary version professedly taken, not from Hebrew and Greek, but from Douche and Latyn. Where the work was put to press is not known, whether at Hamburg, as Foxe, Strype, and Johnson conjecture; or at Paris, as Wanley thought; or at Antwerp, or Lubec, or at Marburg according to Lewis. Antwerp, as the residence of Rogers, is the most likely place—at least, there is no necessity for any other supposition. The printing of English by foreign compositors must have required constant watchfulness from some "corrector" on the spot,[3] and the press must have been worked in speed and secrecy. According to Cotton, some of the engravings were taken from blocks, which had been already used in a Dutch Bible,

[1] These Rhymes were long a popular primer in New England.

[2] It is extraordinary that Hallam should make Matthew the printer. Literature of Europe, vol. I, p. 379, London, 1854.

[3] Thus in Tischendorf's English New Testament, published by Tauchnitz at Leipzig, the misprints are evidently the errors of foreign compositors and readers.

issued at Lubec, in 1533.[1] But these blocks could easily be transferred to Antwerp. The first expense of printing was probably borne by some of the merchants, who had been so generous to Tyndale; but Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch, two citizens of London, suddenly interposed, and took the burden on themselves. Grafton, the printer, writing at this time about the order that no book should be printed without at least the license of one bishop, suggests that "certain be appointed thereto that they may be as ready to read them as other good men to put them forth. For it is now seven years since the bishops promised to translate and set forth the Bible, and as yet they have had no leisure." We are utterly ignorant as well of the process by which they learned that such a volume was contemplated, as of the motives which induced them to undertake the work. Men in those days of jeopardy did good by stealth, for if their well-doing rose into fame it might kindle for them a pyre at Smithfield. But it would appear that the printing had gone on as far as the beginning of Isaiah, when they stepped in to assist, probably purchasing what sheets had been already struck off, and making arrangements for the completion of the work. Certainly there is a blank page, and a new numbering commences at Isaiah with the title, "The Prophetes in Englishe," and on the opposite side of the page, and at its four corners, are the large initials, R. G., and E. W., Richard Grafton, Edward Whitechurch. Grafton, though he was a cautious man, seems to have embarked his whole fortune in the enterprise, and he is the principal correspondent with Cranmer in the business.

The statements often made about this Bible of 1537 are but inaccurate hypotheses; the connection of Tyndale and Coverdale with it has been misunderstood, and the proportion and character of their respective contributions to it have very erroneously estimated.

1. Grafton, the printer of it, comes far short of when he ascribes to Tyndale only the translation Testament, for the Pentateuch had been pri

[1] Editions of the Bible, &c., p. 12, second edit

before.[1] Baker, in his Chronicle, under 1535, says more definitely, and more correctly, that "Tindale was murdered at Villefort, in Flanders, for translating the New Testament and divers parts of the Old."[2]

2. Foxe[3] speaks of Tyndale as "the greatest doer" in this translation, and, with the help of Miles Coverdale, "translating all the books, except only the Apocrypha—John Rogers at the same time being corrector of the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha." But the Apocrypha is beyond question Coverdale's version, as may be seen by looking into his Bible, and Rogers translated no portion of it. Foxe, in his first edition, had made the mistaken announcement that Coverdale's Bible was published in 1532, a date which the book itself visibly contradicts, as its title-page bears MDXXXV. Several writers, relying on the truth of the statement, seemed to infer that his Bible of a subsequent date was a prepared re-issue of this earlier volume, and the next and easy step was to imagine a confederacy of Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers, in the further revision of it.

3. Offor, in the face of all evidence, thinks that perhaps Tyndale may have completed the entire Old Testament. But surely the incorporation of Coverdale's version, from the end of 2 Chronicles to the end of Malachi, disproves the conjecture. If Rogers could have employed Tyndale's version, he would not have preferred Coverdale's, and his insertion of Coverdale's Jonah only proves that Tyndale's was not accessible, for so scarce did it become that some have denied its very existence.[4] Or another reason may be found in the fact that Coverdale's Jonah is but a revision of Tyndale's, as may be seen on a brief comparison.[5] Thus, in the first chapter of the prophecy, Tyndale is far more in accordance with the Hebrew than verdale. The connecting particle "and" is usually preserved ndale, while Coverdale omits it five times, and changes so" three times, into "where" twice, and into "then" changes being usually after the Zürich Bible.

132, London, 1563.
1670.
412.

[4] See pp. 205, 206.

[5] Both versions have been printed in fac-simile by Mr. Fry. London, 1863.

Coverdale gives not a few of Tyndale's simpler clauses, word for word, and has also some of his most characteristic phrases such as, "gat him down," "wente aborde," "paid his fare," "the lorde hurled a great winde into the see," "gat him under the hatches, and layed him down and slombered," "the see wrought and was troublous," and not a few clauses are preserved word for word.

4. Bale asserts, and he is followed by Fuller, that Rogers translated the Bible from Genesis to the end of Revelation,[1] adding prefaces and notes from Luther, and making use of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English copies, the last explained by Strype as meaning Tyndale's translation. This statement gives Rogers credit for work which he did not do, and did not need to do, as the comparison of the various parts of the edition so clearly and strikingly testifies.[2]

5. Strype, in one place, describes the book as "Matthew's Bible, of Tyndale and Rogers' translation,"[3] thus ignoring Coverdale, to whom undoubtedly is to be ascribed one-third of the volume—or all the Old Testament from 2 Chronicles with the Apocrypha—as any reader may determine at once for himself.

6. Anthony Johnson vaguely speaks of the "feigned name" of Thomas Matthews, and connects the Bible with Tyndale and Rogers—"Rogers having translated the Apocrypha, Tyndale having gone no farther than Nehemiah";[4] while Newcome,[5] more strangely still, tells us that Cranmer employed Rogers to superintend it, and Bishop Gray,[6] without any inquiry, copies the inaccuracy.

7. Whittaker's statement is as unfounded, that "Coverdale, assisted by Rogers who corrected the press, revised the whole of Tyndale's work, before they reprinted it."[7]

[1] A vertice ad calcem fidelissime in idioma vulgare transtulit.

[2] Script. Illust., p. 676, Basil, 1557. He characterizes the Bible as "opus laboriosum, excellens, salubre, pium ac sanctissimum."

[3] Memorials of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 185.

[4] Historical Account, &c., p. 73, reprinted in vol. III of Watson's Theological Tracts, London, 1842.

[5] Historical View, &c., p. 34.

[6] Key to the Old Testament, p. 18.

[7] Enquiry, &c., p. 59, Cambridge, 1819.

9. According to Walter, and his opinion was adopted by Hartwell Horne, Coverdale was the editor of Matthew's Bible, and he rejected as much of his own version as could be replaced from Tyndale's published or unpublished translations.[1] The statement about the authorship of the text is true, though Coverdale had no hand either in compiling or editing the Bible, as it was printed abroad, and Coverdale, who seems to have come back at or about the time of the publication of his own Bible, was during this period in England.[2]

Equally remote from fact is Hallam's statement,[3] that the Bible of 1535 was the joint work of Tyndale and Coverdale, and that a new edition of it appeared in 1537 under the name of Matthew. The first opinion being baseless, the last of course falls to the ground; and though it is true that the edition of 1537 did consist of Tyndale's and Coverdale's version, yet they were not so joined together in 1535.

Froude[4] also conjectures the entire Old Testament to be Tyndale's work, "done by him personally, or done under his superintendence"; but the assertion is contradicted by all that is known of the martyr's life, and by the character of the translation of the Historical Books found in the Bible of 1535, and in that of 1537. It is also incorrect to talk, as Colonel Chester does, of the New Testament "of Rogers' version," since, as far as the text is concerned, he only reprinted Tyndale. Cranmer might be pardoned for calling it "a new translation," and "a new print"; but such inadvertence is now without apology.

[1] Letters to the Right Reverend Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, p. 301, London, 1823.

[2] On the 26th of March, 1548, Coverdale writes from Frankfort, to Calvin, about his speedy return to England, "after an exile of eight years." Remains, Parker Society, pp. 525-6.

[3] Constitutional History of England, vol. I, p. 83, seventh edition, London, 1854.

[4] History of England, vol. III, p. 78, fourth edition, London, 1867.

CHAPTER XXII.

ALL those extraordinary statements in the previous paragraphs may be easily set aside by the briefest collation. The simple fact is, that the Bible of Matthew or Rogers was a composite volume made up of the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale. Tyndale had already published the Pentateuch, and during the remaining years of his life he must have been quietly and vigorously engaged in the prosecution of his great work—the translation of the entire Old Testament. From his cold and dark prison he made a special request for a little light and for his "Hebrew Bible, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew dictionary," that he might spend his time in the study and translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.[1] We can scarcely suppose that his small request, so feelingly urged, was denied; and we can picture him during the long nights of winter poring over these volumes by the miserable, blinking flame of a candle, that did little more than make the darkness visible, while the morning sunbeams, feebly straggling through the narrow grated windows, might not supply a much better light to the crouching industrious student. The general belief is, that he had translated to the end of 2 Chronicles, and he may have left papers containing first copies of other books. Probably Rogers had been initiated into the work by Tyndale, and had acquired such a love for it that he resolved to republish what the martyr had already printed, and to issue at the same time what he possessed of his unfinished task. Tyndale's "books and other things" were seized on his arrest, but important manuscripts might in these hazardous times have been

[1] See page 211.

secured from harm, and deposited in some secret place of safety, known to Rogers or Mr. Poyntz. The portion of the Old Testament, from Joshua to Ezra, is undeniably not Coverdale's version, and at the end of Malachi stand in large ornamented capitals the letters W. T.—William Tyndale. But the part from 2 Chronicles onward to the conclusion of the Old Testament, including Jonah, is beyond doubt Coverdale's translation. Rogers did not insert the Epistles from the Old Testament according to the use of Sarum, which are appended to Tyndale's New Testament of 1534. The Epistles taken from the historical books differ from the corresponding sections of Matthew's Bible, and apparently they formed the basis of a revision made by the translator himself; but those taken from the Prophets and the Apocrypha are completely ignored, and the version of Coverdale is used.

No small presumption in favour of the tradition that Tyndale translated from Joshua to 2 Chronicles is afforded by the fact that these books are translated, according to Tyndale's wont, from the Hebrew text. The assertion may be verified by the comparison of any chapter, or even of any verse. Thus:—

	Tyndale after the Hebrew.	Coverdale, as usual, directly from the Zürich Bible.
Josh. i, 1.	which I give (Heb. pres. participle).	I have given.[1]
4.	the river Euphrates	the water Euphrates.[2]
	toward the going down of the sun.	toward the west.[3]
ix, 14.	the men took of their victuals.	the captain[4] took.
xii, 1.	the river Arnon.	the water of Arnon.
2.	the river Jabbok	water of Jabbok.
	the plain.	the plain field.[5]
xxiv, 21.	elders that overlived Joshua.	lived long after Joshua.[6]

These are slight, but satisfactory, specimens in favour of Tyndale, and Coverdale cannot for a moment be suspected.

[1] Ich geben hab.
[2] Wasser.
[3] Gegen den Abend.
[4] Hauptleüt.
[5] Flach väld.
[6] Lange zeyt laebtend nach Josua.

Besides, not a few characteristic renderings in Tyndale's Pentateuch are found in the Historical Books. "Timbrel" is the uniform translation of a Hebrew term in the Pentateuch, and also in the Historical Books; but Coverdale has "tabret." Lebanon is the form found in the Pentateuch, and also in the Historical Books; Coverdale preferring Libanus. "Ephod" is the translation in the Pentateuch, and is carried into the Historical Books; Coverdale employing "overbody cote." "Ark of the covenant of the Lord" is Coverdale's favourite phrase in the Pentateuch and Historical Books, but Tyndale has often in the Pentateuch, "Ark of the Testament," and this rendering is employed also in the Historical Books; while "Ark of the appointment of the Lord" is in both collections of books, and both phrases occur in Joshua iii and iv. A substantive rendered "tribulation" in Deut. iv, 30, has the same rendering in 2 Samuel xxii, 7, and in 2 Chron. xv, 4, Coverdale having "stately troubled" and "in trouble." Another peculiar phrase, rendered "prisoned and forsaken" in Deut. xxxii, 36, is "in prison and forsaken" in 1 Kings xiv, 10, and "prysoned and forsaken" in 1 Kings xxi, 21—Coverdale having in the first instance "shut up and remained over," and in the second, "the prisoner and forsaken." Coverdale carefully consulted Tyndale's Pentateuch, and therefore proofs taken from identity of renderings in the Mosaic and in the Historical Books are so far obliterated when they are also found in the Pentateuch of the Bible of 1535. Coverdale preferred Tyndale's translation in cases where he was at liberty to select other terms; as in Deut. xiv, 5, Tyndale (Matthew) having, "ye shall eate no maner of abhominacyon—these are the beastes which ye shall eate of, oxen, shepe, and gootes, hart, roo, and bugle, hartgoote, unicorn, origin, and camelion,"[1] Matthew altering hart into wild. The last three terms are in our version, wild ox, pygarg, and chamois. But in Leviticus xi, 22, Tyndale has "Even of these ye may eat, the arbe and all hys kynde, the selaam with all hys kynde, the hargol and all his kynde, the

[1] "Bugle" is büffel in Luther, "origin" is Aurochs, the Septuagint having ὄρυξ, the word so rendered being some kind of antelope. All these terms seem to denote animals of that species.

hagab and all hys kynde."[1] Luther and the Zürich Bible leave these terms untranslated, and Coverdale follows. Matthew, however, who keeps Tyndale, gives this note: "Kyndes of beastes that crepe or scraule on the grounde, which the Hebrews themselves do not nowe a dayes knowe." The Geneva Bible (1560) has a similar note. In a word, the Historical Books have the same closeness to the Hebrew, the same clearness and precision, the same tone and colouring as are found in the Pentateuch. The work is done as Tyndale could have done it, and who but he would do it? It was not carried out in England, nor yet by any foreigner on the Continent. Was there any other man of English blood across the channel at the time that was so absorbed in the preparation of an English Bible directly from the original tongues, or that possessed the requisite qualifications? Was there any other self-devoted exile endowed with sufficient earnestness, scholarship, and boldness to engage in the beloved, responsible, and perilous task?

The New Testament is chiefly Tyndale's translation of 1535-34. This edition was selected by Rogers as being the last and best, the crown and culmination of Tyndale's life work. He had been for some time in Antwerp, and had enjoyed confidential and familiar intercourse with Tyndale, so that the translator's critical labour on the new issue was well known to him in its fidelity, scholarship, and patience, and he wisely resolved to reprint it. He, therefore, did not follow the revised edition of 1534, nor that of 1535, but chiefly preferred that of 1535-34, marked as GH in the following collation of Mark, and he has taken it in 778 places. But he adopts the error of GH, 1535, in Mark xvi, 17, "these things" for "these signs," the correct rendering of 1534.[2] In the edition of 1535, there are many misprints, the result of careless editing, and to be traced to the same source as the peculiar spelling—the ignorance of a foreign printer. The following is Mr. Fry's collation of Mark:—

[1] These creatures belonged to the locust or grasshopper species; the first is the common locust, and the second name is that by which the locust is still named in Egypt, the "bald locust" of our version being a mere rabbinical fiction.

[2] See page 232-4.

COMPARISON OF 1534; 1535-1534 GH; 1535; MATTHEW'S 1537.

THE GOSPEL OF SAINT MARK.

Ch.	Ver.						
1	2	'34	which shall prepared thy	GH '35 M	which shall prepare thy
—	5	'34 GH '35 ...	all the land of Jury	... ... M	all that land of Jury
—	21	'34 ... '35 M	into the synagogue	... GH	to the synagogue
—	31	'34 GH ... M	forsook her by and by	... '35 ...	forsook her and by and by
—	—	'34 GH ... M	and she ministered	... ... '35 ...	she ministered
—	39	'34 GH ... M	throughout all Galilee	... '35 ...	"throught" all Galilee
—	40	'34 GH ... M	if thou wilt	... ... '35 ...	"y wilt thou"
—	42	'34	and was cleansed	GH '35 ... / ... ... M	and he was cleansed / *omitted*
—	43	'34 GH '35 ...	and he charged him	... ... M	*omitted*
2	23	'34	went on their way	... GH '35 M	went in their way
—	—	'34 GH ... M	ears of corn	... ... '35 ...	ears of the corn
—	27	'34	sabbath day was made	GH '35 M	sabbath was made
—	—	'34	the sabbath day	... ... GH '35 M	the sabbath
3	13	'34 GH ... M	up into a mountain,	... ... '35 ...	up to a mountain
—	16	'34	gave unto Simon to name	GH '35 M	gave Simon to name
4	20	'34	those that were "sowen"	GH '35 M	those that were sowed
—	24	'34 GH ... M	unto you that hear	... ... '35 ...	unto you that have
—	38	'34 GH ... M	carest thou not that we	... '35 ...	hearest thou not that we
5	13	'34 GH ... M	ran "headling" into the	... '35 ...	ran a "headling" into the
—	14	'34 GH ... M	and in the country	... ... '35 ...	and the country
—	16	'34	happened unto him	... GH '35 M	happened to him
—	21	'34	gathered unto him	... GH '35 M	gathered to him
—	42	'34 GH ... M	astonished at it	... ... '35 ...	astonished of it
6	5	'34 GH ... M	and he could there	... ... '35 ...	and he would there
—	31	'34	come ye apart into	... GH '35 M	come apart into
—	33	'34 GH ... M	and came together unto	... '35 ...	and together unto
—	35	'34 GH ... M	the day was now far spent	... '35 ...	the day was too far spent
7	4	'34 GH ... M	from the market	... ... '35 ...	from market
—	11	'34 GH ... M	the with is given God	... ... '35 ...	the "wich" is given God
—	13	'34	many such things ye do	GH '35 M	many such things do ye
—	19	'34 ... ... M	but into the belly	... GH '35 ...	but in the belly
—	32	'34	to lay his hand upon him	GH '35 M	to put his hand upon him
8	1	'34 GH '35 ...	in those days	... ... M	in the days
9	37	'34	whosoever receive any	GH '35 M	whosoever receiveth any
—	—	'34 GH ... M	in my name receiveth	... '35 ...	in my name receiveth not
—	38	'34 GH ... M	which followeth not us	... '35 ...	which followed not us
—	—	'34 GH ... M	because he followeth us	... '35 ...	because he followed us
—	45	'34 GH ... M	having two feet	... ... '35 ...	having two foot
—	46	'34 GH ... M	and the fire never goeth	... '35 ...	and he never goeth
10	19	'34	bear not false witness	... GH '35 M	bear no false witness
—	21	'34 GH ... M	thou shalt have treasure	... '35 ...	thou shalt treasure
—	—	'34 GH '35 ...	and take up thy cross	... ... M	and take up the cross
11	2	'34 GH ... M	go your ways	... ... '35 ...	go you the ways
—	12	'34 GH ... M	and on the morrow	... ... '35 ...	and "oone" morrow
—	23	'34	shall believe that those	GH '35 M	shall believe those
12	26	'34 GH ... M	and God of Isaac	... ... '35 ...	and the God of Isaac

COLLATION—*Continued.*

Ch.	Ver.								
12	40	'34	...	...	...	under colour of long ...	GH	'35 M	under a colour of long
—	43	'34 GH	...	M		and he called unto him ...		'35 ...	and he calleth unto him
13	4	'34 GH	...	M		when all these things		'35 ...	when all things
—	11	'34 GH	...	M		but whatsoever is given ...		'35 ...	whatsoever is given
—	—	'34 GH	...	M		same time that speak		'35 ...	same time that that speak
—	13	'34 GH	...	M		but whosoever shall		'35 ...	but whoever shall
—	17	'34	...	...	...	woe is then to them ...	GH	'35 M	woe shall be then to them
—	22	'34	...	...	...	false Christs shall arise	GH	'35 M	false Christs shall rise
—	30	'34	...	...	...	till all these things ...	GH	'35 M	till these things
—	34	'34 GH	...	M		and hath left his house ...		'35 ...	and had left his house
14	2	'34 ...	'35	M		arise among the people	GH	... ...	arise among people
—	45	'34 GH	...	M		Master Master and kissed ...		'35 ...	Master and kissed
—	63	'34 GH	...	M		then the highest priest ...		'35 ...	then the high priest
—	—	'34 GH	...	M		rent his clothes and said ...		'35 ...	rent his clothes and say
—	64	'34 GH	...	M		all gave sentence		'35 ...	all have sentence
—	—	'34 GH	'35	...		have heard the blasphemy ...		... M	have heard blasphemy
15	15	'34 GH	...	M		to be crucified		'35 ...	to crucified
—	19	'34 GH	'35	...		kneeled down...		... M	*omitted*
—	29	'34 GH	...	M		destroyest the temple... ...		'35 ...	destroyed the temple
—	41	'34				with him to Jerusalem ...		'35 ...	with unto Jerusalem
		... GH ... M				with him unto Jerusalem			
—	46	'34 GH	'35	...		of the rock and rolled a stone unto the door	...	... M	*omitted*
16	11	'34	...	...	...	and when they heard ...	GH	'35 M	and though they heard
—	—	'34	...	...	...	and he had appeared ...	GH	'35 M	and had appeared
—	—	'34	...	...	...	they believed it not ...	GH	'35 M	yet they believed it not
—	15	'34 GH	...	M		preach the glad tidings ...		'35 ...	preach the gladder tidings
—	17	'34	...	...	...	and these signs	GH	'35 M	and these things
—	19	'34	...	...	...	and is set down	GH	'35 M	and sat him down

These component parts being gathered into one volume by John Rogers, two-thirds of Matthew's Bible are, therefore, Tyndale's, and one-third is Coverdale's. Tyndale had done his work "in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses"; his name had been "cast out as evil"; King Henry had hated him; Sir Thomas More had employed all his learning, eloquence, and wit to hold up his version to malediction and scorn; Crumwell had frowned upon him; Tunstall had made a goodly bonfire of his volumes; Longland's heart had been rejoiced by the secret simultaneous search for them in the capital and the two universities; Stokesley had sent men to the flames for reading them; the translator himself had been proscribed, "Judasly betrayed" by English agents, and burned; but in less than a year

after his martyrdom, his translation acquired the royal right of free sale and dispersion, having been mysteriously accepted as forming the larger portion of an Authorized Version for the English people.[1]

[1] Tyndale's last prayer at the stake contradict's Mr. Froude's assertion (vol. iv, p. 84) that the translator had lived to see the Bible "borne in" to the country "by the solemn will of the king." No royal license was issued for Bibles till 1537—the year after Tyndale's martyrdom.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE work of Rogers in the production of this Bible was, however, something more than the mechanical putting together of its various portions, and the superintending of the press. The preliminary matter is characteristic. As has been already said, besides the general preface, and dedication, and the "exhortacyon to the studye of the Holy Scripture, gathered out of the Bible," at the end of which stand the initials I. R., there follows also, on two pages, the "summe and content of all the Holy Scripture, both of the Olde and the Newe Testament," a brief system of theology. These two prefatory essays were retained in the great Bible of 1539. Then there comes a "table of the pryncypal matters conteyned in the Byble, in which the readers may fynde and practyse many commune places," and prefaced by an address to the "Christen reders," which opens, "As the bees dylygently do gather together the swete flowers to make by naturall craft the swete honey, so haue I done the pryncypall sentences conteyned in the Byble. The whych are ordened after the maner of a table, for the consolacyon of those whych are not yet exercised and instructed in the holy Scripture. In the which are many harde places, as well of the olde as of the newe Testament expounded, gathered togcther, concorded, compared one wyth another; to thintent that the prudent Reader (by the sprete of God) maye beare awaye pure and cleare vnderstanynge. Wherby euery man (as he is bounde) maye be made ready, stronge, & garnyshed, to answere to all them that aske hym a reason of hys fayth. Thys is also profytable for the partycular & generall exhortacyons whych we make to certayne person-

ages, or commune people: & for to answere truly to Heretykes, & to confounde the aduersaries of the worde of God. In the which also we may fynde (that which helpeth greatly the studye of the readers) the openynge of certayne Hebrewe tropes, translacyons, symylytudes, and maners of speakynges (whych we call phrases) conteyned in the Byble. And for the more easely to fynde the matters desyred (because that dysorder engendreth confusyon), I haue proceded after the order of an alphabete: to thyntente that none be depryued of so precyous a treasure: the whych ye shall vse to the honoure & glorye of God, and to the edyfyinge of hys Churche. How be it (good Reader) yf thou fynde not the thynges in thys table expressed, in the same letters of the chapters wherin they are assynged; vouchsaue to loke in the letter goinge next before or in the letter next folowynge." The table fills twenty-six folio pages, and being alphabetically arranged, it forms a species of concordance and dictionary—one of the earliest in the language. Great pains were employed in drawing it up, and its scriptural fulness and accuracy are to be admired. It is not, however, original, but is taken chiefly from the French Bible of Olivetan. Texts of Scripture are uniformly given to these 220 articles, in order to illustrate, confirm, or improve practically what has been said, and the Apocrypha is freely used. Scripture is compared with Scripture. Thus, under the word Angels:[1] The angels assyste before God, Job xxv *a*, and xxxviii *a*, Daniel vii *c*, Matt. xviii; and do minister to men, Ps. civ *a*, Heb. i. Also they do rebuke sinners, Judges ii *a*, and do comfort the afflycte, Genesis xxi *b*, Luke xxii *es*, Dan. vi *f*. Also they do teach the ignoraunte, example of ye angel which taught Elijah, what he should say to the seruantes of Ohoziah, iv Re. i *a*, also of Dan. ix *f*, also of Joseph, Matt. i. ii, *d*, also of Cornelius, Acts x *a*, also of Zechariah, Luke i. By the angelles God scourgeth his people, ii Re. xxiv, iv Re. xix *g*, Act vii *d*. Aduocate—Note that I fynde not in all the Byble this word aduocate, but only in i Jo. ii *a*, in ye which place is said that Christ is our aduocate towarde the father."

[1] There are, of course, no verses marked, and the letters of the alphabet indicate the section in which the passages may be found.

Some of the notes have a distinct reference to popery. Under Beatitude occurs, with a hand pointing to it, "blessed is Mary because she beleued," Luke i *e*. Masse, thys worde masse is not in the Byble translated by S. Jerom, nor in none other that we haue. And therefore, could I not tel what to note therof, but to sende the reader to the souper of oure Lorde Jesus Christe, i Corinthians xi, Act xx *b c*. Meryte—In lokynge ouer the Byble, as well the newe as the olde Testament, I haue not founde this word meryte. Meryte then is nothynge; for to meryt is to bynd God vnto his creatures, and not to obserue the meryte of Jesus Christ, by which only we are saued; not accordynge to oure workes or merytes, but according to his holy purpose and grace, which was geuen vnto vs before al time. ii Tim. i *b*, Titus iv *b*: It is then by grace that we are saued through fayth, and not of vs, but by the gyft of God to thyntent that none do boast hym selfe, Ephe. ii, Roma. iii, 2. For the tribulacyons of thys world, are not worthye of the glorye that shal be shewed vnto vs, Rom, viii. And if we haue pacyence in them, that cometh of God, i Cor iv. Howe then can we glorye that we do meryte that thyng which is none of ours in as much as God doth and accomplysheth in vs the good wil, Phil. ii. Religion for obseruing (not of cloister rules), but of thynges ordayned of God, Exo. xii *d*, Leue. viii *g*, Num. xix *d*, religion for the sect of the Pharises which were proud Ipocrites and ful of ceremonies, of which S. Paul was at the fyrste, Act xxvi *b*. Cornelius being captaine of the Italian's army, is called a religious man, and yet he had made no monastycall vowes, Act x *a*. The true religion of the Christen standeth not in the dyuersitye of habytes or of vowes; but in visitynge of the fatherlesse and wydowes in their tribulacyons and kepyng a man's selfe pure from the wickedness of this world, James i.

Rogers did not translate, nor did he attempt a thorough revision. But he went over the whole carefully, making a few unimportant changes, and adding several alternate renderings, found among the notes, and introduced by the formula, "Some reade"—thus, in Isaiah iii, 3, the text has "master of craftes," and the notes have, Some reade "exactours or extor-

tioners." Isaiah viii, 14, text, "to stumble at, the rock to fall upon, a snare and net to both the houses to Israel, and the inhabitours of Jerusalem." Notes, Some reade, "and as the rock to fall upon the two houses of Israel, a snare and net to the inhabitours of Jerusalem," after Luther. In Prov. i, 1, Coverdale has "These are the Proverbes of Salomon," and in Isaiah i, 1, "This is the Prophecy of Esay," both after Luther; but Rogers gives more literally, "The Proverbs of Solomon," "The Prophecy of Esay," after the Vulgate and Pagninus. The change, however, in these places is accidental, for similar diction is found in the beginning of other books, as in the opening words of Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, &c., where Luther's usual formula, repeated in the Zürich Bible, and translated by Coverdale, remains unchanged. Coverdale had followed the numeration of the Psalms as given in the Vulgate, noting at the head of the tenth Psalm, "here the Hebrues begine the x Psalm," making the next as the x also; but in this Bible the numeration corresponds generally with the Hebrew. Rogers omits three verses in Psalm xiv, which, "not being in the Hebrew," according to Coverdale's marginal note, were yet inserted by him. Coverdale does not translate the word given in our version, "to the chief musician," but Rogers always renders it, "to the chaunter." Coverdale at the beginning of a book, such as Isaiah, gives the contents of all the chapters together; Rogers prefixes them to each separate chapter, and at the end of the chapter come the annotations, headed as "the notes." He ends 2 Kings with the conclusion of the reign of Jehoshaphat, in our version xxii, 50. In the "Ballet of Ballettes of Salomon," he gives an interpretation of the poem, and the various scenes are distinguished as "the voyce of the Churche," "the spousesse to her companions," "the voyce of the Churche in persecution," "Christ to the Synagogue," "the voyce of the Patriarch speaking of Christ," &c., shorter notes occurring on the margin of Olivetan. In the use of such notes on Canticles, Matthew had been preceded by Hereford, the early colleague of Wycliffe—"the Churche of the comynge of Christ speketh, the voice of the Fader, &c."; but Purvey removed such headings.

The title to the Apocrypha, adorned with fifteen woodcuts,

is, "The volume of the bokes called Apocrypha conteyned in the comen translation in Latyne, which are not found in the Hebrue, nor in the Chalde." Coverdale had omitted the prayer of Manasses, but Rogers inserted it before 1 Maccabees, from Olivetan's French version, such terms and phrases as "ornament," "laudable," "vertu," "importable," "requiring goodness of thee," "knowing iniquity," "all the vertue of heaven," being directly transferred from the French text. Baruch was placed next to Jeremiah by Coverdale; but here it is inserted between Ecclesiasticus and "the Song of the Three Children in the Oven." Though there are headings, there are no continuous notes to the Apocrypha; and his first and general preface, which is translated from Olivetan, is a distinct and positive protest against the reception of the books of the Apocrypha as an inspired collection—as follows:

"In consyderacyon that the bokes before are founde in the Hebrue tonge, receaued of all men: & that the other folowyng, which are called Apocripha (because they were wont to be reade, not openly & in comen, but as it were in secret & aparte) are nether founde in the Hebrue nor in the Chalde: in which tonges they haue not of longe bene written (in lesse then it were happly the boke of Sapience) wher vpon it were now very harde to repayre & amende them: And that also they are not receaued nor taken as legyttymate & leafull, as well of the Hebrues as of the whole Churche, as S. Hierome sheweth: we haue separat them, & sett them asyde, that they may the better be knowen: to thintent that men may knowe of which bokes witnes ought to be receaued, & of which not. For the sayde S. Hierome speakinge of the boke of Judith (which is Apocriphe) sayth, that the autorytye therof is not esteamed worthy & suffycyent to confyrme & stablysh the thynges that lyght in disputacyon. And generally of all the bokes called Apocripha, he sayth, that men maye reade them to the edyfyinge of the people: but not to confyrme & strengthen the doctryne of the Churche. I leaue oute here the lawe (as they call it) of Canon. c. Sancta Romana. xv. distinc. where he sheweth his iudgement. Lykewyse the Glose of c. Canones. xvj. distinc. which sayth, that men reade them, but not in

generall: as though he shulde saye, that generally & thorouly they are not alowed. And not wythout a cause: For that they haue bene corrupted & falsyfyed in many places, it appeareth sufficiently by Eusebius in his boke called Historia Ecclesiastica: Which thinge is easye to be known even now a dayes in certen poyntes, namely in the bokes of the Machabees: whose second boke S. Hiero. confesseth that he founde not in the Hebrue, by the meanes wherof it is become vnto vs the more suspect & the lesse receaued. In lyke maner is it of the thyrde & fourthe boke of Esdras, which S. Hierome protesteth that he wolde not haue translated, esteamyng them for dreames: where as Josephus yet in his boke of his Antiquities declareth the summe of the matter after the maner of a storye, as well of the boke of Machabees as of the .iij. of Esdras: although he esteame the bokes compyled from the raygne of Kynge Artaxerses vnto hys tyme, to be Apocripha.

"Wherfore then, when thou wylt manteyne any thynge for certen, rendryng a reason of thy fayth, take heade to proceade therin by the lyuynge and pyththye Scriptures folowinge S. Peter, which sayth: He that speaketh, let hym speake as thoughe he spake the worde of God."

On the other hand, Coverdale, after saying that "the Apocryphal Books are judged among the doctours to be of like reputation with the other Scripture," quietly adds, "I have not gathered them together to the intent that I wolde have them despised or little set by, or that I should think them false, for I am not able to prove it." He had also said that, between the translations, "repentance," penance or amendment, "there was no more difference than between fourpence and a groat." Rogers was not of that opinion, and he felt that the translation "do penance" might be understood in the Romish sense of self-inflicted physical pain—suffered to make satisfaction. The Notes at the end of the chapters are of all kinds—textual, doctrinal, polemical, and practical[1]—and they almost form a running

[1] Colonel Chester calls these notes the first general English Commentary. In proof he urges that "Mr. Walter could gather only nine octavo pages of Tyndale's notes," but he forgets that we have only a very small fragment of Tyndale's annotated quarto New Testament.

comment. They were gathered from various sources; many are from Pellicanus, and others appear to be original. Some learning is displayed, as an allusion to the Chaldee interpreter, Job vi. Strabo is cited under Matth. ii, to show that the Magi were the priests of the Persians. Neginoth, Shiggaion, &c., are carefully explained. There is (Matt. ii) a reference to a saying of Augustus, preserved in Macrobius, that "he would rather be Herod's swine than his sonne." Josephus is quoted at 3 Kings vii, and in the margin of Num. xxxiii, 52, two rabbis are adduced for the alternate rendering "paving stones." Under Luke x, the sister of Martha is called Mary Magdalene. The Psalms are formally divided into five "Treatyses" or books, a distinction not recognized by Coverdale. Hallelujah is explained as meaning "praise the Everlasting." Under Job i, 21, Coverdale's parenthesis, based on the Vulgate, "the Lord hath done his pleasure" is omitted, and this note is added, "the Greek and Origen adds, Hereunto as it hath pleased the Lord, so it is done." A song of degrees is called "a song of the stearis," that is, stairs. Selah is thus explained at the end of Psalm iii, "this worde, after Rabbi Kimchi, was a sygne or token of lyftynge up the voyce, and also a monission and advertisement to enforce the thoughte and mynde ernestly to give hede to the meanynge of the verse whereunto it is added. Some will that it sygnifye perpetuallye or verily." At Gen. ii, 17, such idioms as "die the death" are termed "rehearsalls of words." The note at the end of 2 Maccabees xii is, "Judge from the place whether the opinion hath been to pray for the dead, as to be baptized for them; 1 Cor. xv, *d*, which thing was only done to confirm the hope of the resurrection of the dead, not to deliver from any pain. . . . This hole book of the Maccabees, and specially this second, is not of sufficient authority to make an article of our faith."

It follows, from the previous statements about the component parts of this Bible, that the assertion on its title-page—"The Scriptures truly and purely translated into English, by Thomas Matthew"—is not to be taken in literal accuracy, for Thomas Matthew did not himself translate; he simply joined

together, edited, and published two translations. But he knew that the language could impose on no one, as thousands were in possession of Tyndale's Testament and Coverdale's Bible, the only two versions which he employed in making up the new volume. It was an act of splendid audacity on the part of Mr. Richard Grafton, "citizen and grocer," to send such a volume to the Archbishop of Canterbury—a volume made up so largely of Tyndale's version, which had been so fiercely proscribed a few years before, which had the initials of his name blazoned in large capital letters, and which in its critical notes did not veil his opinions, but rather presented them in an intensified form, and which, going greatly beyond Cranmer's own views, was a trenchant protest against Catholic doctrines and usages.

Strype gives the following brief account of some of the anti-papal notes:[1]—

"One of these notes fixeth us in the year of the edition—viz., Mark i. Upon those words, *What new doctrine is this?* the note in the margin is, 'That that was then *new*, after XV.C.XXXVI. years, is yet *new*. When will it then be old?' This note was made to meet with the common reproach then given to the religion reformed, that it was a *new* upstart religion, and called *the new learning*. Another marginal note was at Matthew XXV, *And the wise answered, Not so, lest there be not enough*, &c., where the note is, *Note here, that their own good works sufficed not for themselves; and therefore remained none to be distributed unto their fellows:* against works of supererogation, and the merits of saints. And Matthew XVI, *I say unto thee, that thou art Peter: and upon this rock*, &c. The note is, *That is, as saith St. Austin, upon the confession which thou hast made, knowledging me to be Christ, the Son of the living God, I build my congregation or church.* And again, *I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* The note is, Origen, writing upon Matthew, in his first homily affirmeth, *that these words were as well spoken to all the rest of the Apostles as to Peter.* And proves it, in that Christ, John XX, saith, *Receive the Holy Ghost. Whose sins soever ye remit*, &c., and not *thou remittest.* And Matthew XVIII, *Whatsoever ye*

[1] Memorials of Cranmer, vol. I, pt. i, p. 472.

bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye loose on earth, &c. Margin, *Whatsoever yé bind,* &c., *is, Whatsoever ye condemn by my word in earth, the same is condemned in heaven. And what ye allow by my word in earth is allowed in heaven.* These and such like notes and explications, giving offence, no doubt, to the Popish Bishops, when the Bible was printed again (which was in the year 1540), all was left out."

CHAPTER XXIV.

NO sooner had this Bible come into the country, probably toward the end of July, 1537, than Cranmer was brought into immediate connection with it. On 4th August he sent a letter to Crumwell, telling him of its appearance, and asking him "to rede it"—"a new translation and a new print," praising it and adding, "As for the translation, so farre as I have redde thereof, I like it better than any other translacion heretofore made: And forasmoche as the boke is dedicated unto the Kinges Grace, & also greate paynes & labour taken in setting forth of the same, I pray you, my lorde, that you will exhibite the boke into the Kinges Highnes: & to obteign of His Grace, if you can, a license that the same may be sold & redde of every person, withoute danger of any acte, proclamacion, or ordinaunce heretofore graunted to the contrary, untill such tyme that we, the Bisshops, shall set forth a better translacion —which I thinke will not be till a day after Domes-day."[1] These last bitter words were inspired by the memory of his failure in 1534. What the archbishop requested was done, and on the 13th of August, Cranmer sends a letter of hearty thanks to the great statesman for having so promptly secured the royal license: "My lorde for this your payne taken in this behalf, I giue vnto you my most hartie thanks, assurying your lordeship for the contentacion of my mynde, you have shewed me more pleasure herein than yf you hadd giuen me a thowsande pownde."[2] This second letter is dated 28th day of August, and on that day Grafton himself writes to Crumwell,

[1] State Papers, vol. I, pt. 11, p. 562. [2] Cotton MSS., Cleo., E. V. fol. 329.

and also sends a present of six Bibles. His words imply that he was aware of Cranmer's first epistle of thanks.[1] In a third letter, dated Ford, 28th of the same month, the archbishop blesses Crumwell for his kind interposition with the king, and promises him "laud and memory of all God's faithfull people—nay, this deede you shall hear of at the Great Day."[2] Cranmer might have had no leisure for a collation, but probably Crumwell was aware of the component materials of the Bible; and had Henry looked into the volume, which, at the request of his minister, he had licensed, he might have seen that he was stultifying himself in a most marvellous way, for he might at once have recognized the work of Tyndale, so often denounced; even the prologue to Romans, which had been formally singled out and proscribed, was retained and placed in prominence. But, probably from his knowledge of public opinion, he took the bold step of granting the royal sanction to this Bible. The royal proclamation to be read by all the curates was in the following terms:[3]—

"Whereas it hath pleased the king's majesty, our most dread sovereign, and supreme head under God of this Church of England, for a declaration of the great zeal he beareth to the setting forth of God's word, and to the virtuous maintenance of the commonwealth, to permit and command the Bible, being translated into our mother tongue, to be sincerely taught by us the curates, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church: to the intent that all his good subjects, as well by reading thereof, as by hearing the true explanation of the same, may be able to learn their duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and every of us charitably to use other: and then applying themselves to do according to that they shall hear and learn, may both speak and do Christianly; and in all things as it beseemeth Christian men: because his highness very much desireth, that this thing being by him most godly begun and set forward, may of all you be received as is aforesaid; his majesty hath willed and

[1] In this letter, Grafton, referring to Cranmer's remarks about the Bible giving him more pleasure than a gift of a thousand pounds, magnifies it into "ten thousand pounds." Strype's Cranmer, I, 131, &c.

[2] Ibid., fol. 292.

[3] Cotton MSS., Cleop. E, p. 327.

commanded this to be declared unto you, that his grace's pleasure and high commandment is, that in the reading and hearing thereof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing yourselves unto it, you shall have always in your remembrance and memories, that all things contained in this Book is the undoubted will, law, and commandment of Almighty God, the only and straight means to know the goodness and benefits of God towards us, and the true duty of every Christian man to serve him accordingly. And that therefore reading this Book with such mind and firm faith as is aforesaid, you shall first endeavour yourselves to conform your own livings and conversation to the contents of the same. And so by your good and virtuous example to encourage your wives, children, and servants to live well and Christianly according to the rules thereof.

"And if at any time by reading any doubt shall come to any of you touching the sense and meaning of any part thereof, that then, not giving too much to your own minds, fantasies, and opinions; nor having thereof any open reasoning in your open taverns or alehouses, ye shall have recourse to such learned men as be or shall be authorized to preach and declare the same. So that, avoiding all contentions and disputation in such alehouses and other places, unmeet for such conferences, and submitting your opinion to the judgments of such learned men as shall be appointed in this behalf, his grace may well perceive that you use this most high benefit quietly and charitably every one of you, to the edifying of himself, his wife, and family, in all things answering to his highness' good opinion conceived of you, in the advancement of virtue and suppressing of vice; without failing to use such discreet quietness and sober moderation in the premises as is aforesaid; as you tender his grace's pleasure, and intend to avoid his high indignation, and the peril and danger that may ensue to you and every of you for the contrary."

Peculiar decision and firmness are manifest in the movement. The "notes" in the volume sounded a bold defiance, and tended to exasperate thousands who were ready to rebel and battle for the faith and the rites of their fathers. The Pilgrimage of Grace

had recently alarmed the nation, and this wild reactionary rebellion in the north was fed and fostered by fanatical priests, clamouring for the suppression of all ecclesiastical reforms, and plunging into treason to avenge themselves of heresy. Aske had been executed, and also the Abbot of Barlings, who had unfolded the Banner of the Five Wounds. Not long after this, when the treason of the Poles, one of whom had been made a cardinal, was detected and punished, such men as were forward to show hostility to the crown on pretence of helping the church were stigmatized by the king himself as "those miserable papistical and superstitious wretches."[1] The licensing of Matthew's Bible at such a time—a volume so profuse in its civil homage, and so terse and pointed in its condemnation of papal dogmas and rites—appeared to be throwing down the gauntlet to a great and turbulent faction.

Crumwell had now risen to the pinnacle of power and prerogative. He had become Vicar-General and Vicegerent, officially representing the king as the head of the Church; and in virtue of this anomalous office, he presided in Convocation. Such presiding of "an ignorant layman in a synod of the most learned bishops that ever were in England was a most scandalous sight," according to Bishop Godwin.

At a meeting of Convocation in 1536, the vicegerent, who took precedence of the archbishop, introduced, by a wanton stretch of authority, Ales, or Alane, the Scottish exile,[2] and a sufferer from popish tyranny, and asked him to declare his judgment on the question of the Sacraments. Ales confined himself chiefly to arguments from Scripture, for Bishop Foxe, of Hereford, had encouraged him by these words: "We be commanded by the king's grace to dispute by the Holy Scripture. . . . The lay people now know the Holy Scriptures better than many of us." As Ales went on in his Biblical demonstration, Stokesley shouted in a paroxysm of wrath, "Yet are ye far deceived if ye think that there is none other Word of God

[1] In a circular letter to the justices of the peace. Burnet's Collectanea, p. 494.

[2] See page 247. On the title of a book "On the Authority of the Word of God," he gave his name as Alexander Alane, Scot.

but that which every souter and cobbler doth read in his mother tongue." One of the strong protestations of the Lower House also was, that now "by preaching the people have been brought in opinion and belief that nothing is to be believed except it can be proved expressly from Scripture." These varieties of opinion, and these confessions, wrung from alarmed opponents, showed that the Bible had been getting among the people, who were still eager for a fuller and more public circulation of it. Might not the king, understanding this state of feeling among his subjects, feel warranted to follow the advice of his prime counsellor, and give his royal sanction to the Bible of Coverdale and to the Bible of Matthew? Both Bibles received the royal license in the same year, but which of them had the priority cannot be definitely decided. Fulke, however, writing in 1583, calls "Thomas Matthew's translation the first that was printed in English with authority."[1]

The Dedication, which occupies no less than three pages, must also have had some influence in gaining the royal consent. It takes up such topics as Coverdale had done—not, however, comparing his majesty to the Jewish kings, but rather, in a firm and manly tone, holding up their life and work, as royal examples. But he adds, quite in the fashion of the age: "The want of lernynge, The obscurenes & lownes of byrth, The lack of youre graces knowledge, &c., shuld haply haue vtterly forbydden me, to haue interprysed the dedycacion herof to so puyssaient a Prynce: But the experience of youre graces benygnytye, wherthroughe youre prayse is renouined & hyghly magnifyed, even amōge straungers & alyentes, not alone among youre awne subiectes, The Godly moderacion of youre heuenly polycye, wherwith ye suppresse supersticyon & mayntene true holynes, inflameth me to some part of boldnes: Specyally syth the thyng which I dedycate is soch as your grace studyeth dayly to fosther." And he thus concludes: "The euerliuynge Lord so prospere contynually youre begonne purpose vnto soch effect, that the thinge may be which ye haue begōne. And double vnto you the addycyō of yeares that was geuen vnto Hezekiah, ouer & above those that ye shulde naturally lyue,

[1] Defence, &c., against Gregory Martin, p. 112, Parker Society ed.

that ye maye the better accomplysh your moast godly intent: And blesse you at thys present wyth a sonne, by youre most gracyous wyfe Queen Jane, which may prosperously & fortunately raygne, & folowe the godly steppes of his father: And after your grace shall geue place to nature, & forsake thys mortall lyfe, grannte you the rewarde of that vnspeakable & celestyall ioye, whych no eye hath sene, no eare hearde, nor can ascende into the herte of man. So be it. Youre graces faythfull & true subiect—Thomas Matthew."

Different views have been taken of the connection of Cranmer with Matthew's Bible; some conjecturing that he was wholly ignorant of the preparation of it, and others that its importation did not take him by surprise—nay, Lewis affirms that he was one of its "curators," and Todd, "that he had exerted himself for it." Certainly, his letter to Crumwell indicates no emotion produced by any sudden discovery, nor does it hint at any prior knowledge of the enterprise, but it speaks quietly of a mere welcome matter of fact. There may have been a prior understanding, though no hint of it is dropped. Grafton and Whitechurch may have secretly informed Cranmer of their purpose, in the hope of securing his protection. Grafton had embarked his fortune in it, £500 sterling, a sum probably equal in value to £7,000 at the present day, and he was naturally anxious to be repaid. Would he have ventured without some tacit connivance with Cranmer to have brought the Bible into the country under the risk of its circulation being refused or impeded, and himself financially ruined? That neither the archbishop nor the printers spoke of the matter prematurely was only a natural silence in the circumstances. Though Cranmer seized the first opportunity of turning Crumwell's attention to the new Bible, neither he nor the vicegerent had been at any expense or trouble about it, and it was not fostered or printed under any distinguished patronage.

The edition of 1500 copies was soon exhausted, and Grafton, afraid of competition, petitioned Crumwell, Lord Privy Seal, for protection. He had already asked for a royal license, which had been granted; but he was aware of what had happened to Tyndale through pirated editions, undertaken by illiterate

foreigners, ignorant of the very language which they were printing. He pleads the amount of capital embarked in the enterprise, and the popularity of the book as tempting others to republish it,—"There are that will, and doth go about the printing of the same worke agayne in a lesser letter, to the intent that they may sell their little bóoks better cheap than I can sell these great, to the utter undoing of me, your orator, and all these my creditors." He tries to frighten his patron by the prophecy that rivals will falsify the text, and not set out the book for God's glory, as may appear by the former Bibles which they have set forth, which have neither good paper, letter, ink, nor correction. Especially was he afraid of "Douchemen (Germans) dwelling within the realm, who can neither speak good English, nor write none, who yet will both print and correct such an edition, and who are so covetous that they will not bestow twenty or forty pounds on a learned man as editor." He calls himself a "poor young man" who will be ruined by such rival editions. Then he piously suggests, with a keen eye to business and to a rapid sale, that every abbey should have six copies, "that they may look on the Lord's law," "none but those of the papistical sort," however, being compelled to have them; and he concludes, "then I know there should be enough found in my lord of London's diocese to spend away a great part of them, and so should this be a godly act worthily to be had in remembrance while the world doth stand. The sicknes is bryme[1] about, or else I would wait upon your lordship."[2] To this request, so simple in its terms, so cautious in its selfward suggestions, veiled, however, by such professions of disinterested patriotism, and Christian zeal, no response seems to have been made, at least none has been preserved. Yet, if the suspicions of Grafton were correct as to the contemplated reprint of the "dreaded lytle bookes," the project seems to have been checked, perhaps by Crumwell's command. We should have rejoiced, however, at seeing a Bible of smaller form put into circulation for popular use, since, as long as it was kept in the shape of a

[1] Brime means fierce, as in Langtoft, "Richard wexe full brime."

[2] Cotton MSS., Cleopatra E. V., fol. 340.

large and heavy folio, it could be possessed only by a mere fraction of the nation. The age of hand-bibles had not come, the period was one of transition, and men were still feeling toward a more perfect version. But a decided advance had now been made; for that Bible was now in the country which was to supply the basis of all subsequent revisions. The edition of Matthew or Rogers of 1537 became on revision the Great Bible in 1539–1540, it on revision took the name of the Bishops' Bible in 1568, and the Bishops' Bible, on being again revised, took its lasting place as our English Bible in 1611.

CHAPTER XXV.

A REVISED edition of Matthew's Bible was published in 1539. The editor, Richard Taverner, was born at Brisley, Norfolk, about 1505, and was one of the young men selected by Wolsey for his college at Oxford. He was imprisoned with others in its cellar for reading Tyndale's New Testament. But he was soon released on account of his singular musical accomplishments;[1] and giving himself to the study of law, he was admitted to the Inner Temple. He next attached himself to Secretary Crumwell, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in 1537 occupied a position of honour and responsibility as clerk of the signet to the king. Two years afterwards, in 1539, his edition of the Bible appeared, and his connection with Crumwell may have suggested to him such a Biblical work. The title bears that it was "newly recognized with great diligence after most faythful exemplars."[2] The edition was printed in London, in folio and quarto,[3] while the first Great Bible was at press on the Continent, and during the same year were issued two editions of the New Testament, in folio and quarto also.[4] His New Testament was again printed in 1540 in 12mo, and his Old Testament formed part of a Bible published in 1551. After that period

[1] Dalaber says (see p. 166), "I stood at the quire door and heard Mr. Taverner play."

[2] Bale speaks of it as recognitio seu potius versio. De Illustr. Viris, p. 698.

[3] This edition was printed in parts in order that poorer people who could not purchase a whole Bible might be able to buy a fragment.

[4] Taverner also published in 1540 Postills on the Epistles and Gospels. Reprinted, ed. Cardwell, Oxford, 1841.

his edition sank into such neglect that it had no appreciable influence on any subsequent revision.

Taverner was reputed to be a good Greek scholar, "it being his humour to quote law in Greek." His Bible has a distinctive character of its own. The Old Testament is Matthew with some variations; many of the marginal notes are changed; and he closely followed Tyndale in the New Testament. He unfolds his purpose in his dedication to the king, and thanks him for licensing the Bible: "This one thing I dare well affirm, that amongst all your majesty's deservings . . . your highness never did thing more acceptable unto God, more profitable to the advancement of true Christianity, more unpleasant to the enemies of the same, and also to your grace's enemies, than when your majesty licensed and willed the most sacred Bible containing the unspotted and lively Word of God to be in the English tongue set forth to your highness' subjects. . . . Wherefore, the premises well considered, forasmuch as the printers hereof were very desirous to have the Bible come forth as faultless, and emendably as the shortness of time for the recognizing of the same would require, they desired me, for default of a better learned, diligently to overlook and peruse the whole copy, and in any case I should find any notable default that needed correction, to amend the same, according to the true exemplars, which thing according to my talent I have gladly done." He understood the difficulty and importance of translation: "It is a work of great difficulty so absolutely to translate the Holy Bible that it be faultless," that he "feared it could scarce be done of one or two persons, but rather required both a deeper conferring of learned wits together, and also a juster time and longer leisure." This edition has no woodcuts, and there are very few notes.

Taverner's[1] scholarship appears on every page in many

[1] Taverner had a license to preach from Edward VI, and did preach. Queen Elizabeth made him high sheriff of Oxford in 1569. In civilian costume, and with a sword by his side, he preached to the students from the pulpit of St. Mary's. Died 14th July, 1577. Bale, writing in 1557, says of him, "Nescio an vivat adhuc." Wood (Athenæ, Oxon, vol. I, p. 182) has preserved a specimen of his alliterative conceits in his ser-

minute touches, for he does justice to the article, as in Gal. v, 27, "hath the husband." He often follows the Greek order of expression, and is eager to find Saxon equivalents and idioms for rarer terms and combinations. Some of his alterations are pithy in character—Matt. xxii, 12, "had never a word to say"; 34, "stopped the Sadducees' mouths." But the clause "this cup is the New Testament in my blood," 1 Cor. xi, is omitted, and some copies have a slip of paper with the omitted words pasted over the place. The disputed clauses, 1 John v, are printed in a smaller type. In Gen. xliii, 11, the older phrase of Tyndale and Coverdale, "a curtesye baulme," is altered into "a quantity of baulme"; but he retains another archaism in Acts xii, 19, "commanded the keepers to depart"—to be put to death. The very peculiar term in 2 Kings xxiii, 5, Kemurims in Coverdale, Taverner changed into "religious persons"; the Great Bible having "ministers of Baal"; the Genevan, "Chemerim," with a note as in the original Matthew. The Authorized Version has, in the place referred to, "idolatrous priests"; in Hosea x, 5, simply "priests"; but in Zeph. i, 4, it has "Chemarims." Taverner, in his usual English, prefers "residue" to "remnant," and "forthwith" to "by and bye." Some of his changes are kept in the Authorized Version, as "parables" for "similitudes"; "because of their unbelief," Matt. xiii, 58; "ninety and nine," xviii, 12; "lodged," xxi, 17; "throne," xxiii, 23; "of many shall wax cold," xxiv, 12; "a stranger," xxv, 35; "passover," xxvi, 17; "guilty of death," 66; "ye have a watch," xxvii, 65; "the Israel of God," Gal. vi, 16; "I stand in doubt of you," iv, 20—last clause, "in a doubt," Tyndale and Matthew. Gal. iii, 6, is identical with this version, Tyndale having "ascribed," but he preserves the

mons: "Arrived at the mount of St. Mary's, on the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." The pulpit of St. Mary's was then of stone, and a wooden pulpit was put in its place during the chancellorship of Dr. John Owen. For his edition of the English Bible Taverner was imprisoned after Cromwell's death, but he was soon released.

wrong translation in iv, 25, "and bordereth on." Taverner gives no preface to the Apocrypha, and in the title of the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews he omits the name of St. Paul.

Some other editions of Matthew's Bible may also be glanced at. One of them is a reprint in 1549, the title being within the woodcut which had been used for Coverdale's version. The colophon records, "And nowe agayne accordyngly imprinted & fynesshed the laste daye of Octobre, in the yeare of oure Lorde God MDXLIX, By Wylliam Hyll & Thomas Rainaldes, typographers." It is altogether a wretched production—the type bad, and the arrangement devoid of taste and accuracy. Another edition appeared during the same year, "now lately with greate industry & diligence recognised," the printers being John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, and William Seres, dwelling in Peter's Colledge; the colophon intimating that the volume was "fineshed" in MDXLIX, and that "these bokes are to be solde by the lyttle conduyte in Chepesyde." The "Supputation" of the years and times from Adam unto Christ is signed by Edmund Becke, the editor of the volume, which is a reprint, with few variations, of the edition of 1537, though the title-page affirms "faythefully set furth according to the coppy of Thomas Matthewes translacion." In the Apocalypse are twenty coarse small cuts, the majority of which have two lines of rhyme printed perpendicularly on each side of them—thus the xii figure has—

> "Goddes chosen church travaileth here alwaye,
> And bringeth forth Christ both night and daye."

and the xx figure—

> "All flesh is killed with the two edged sword,
> Which after the spirit is called Goddes Worde."

Another edition of 1551—Taverner's revised by Becke—contains the Third Book of Maccabees for the first time, while Third Esdras, Tobit, and Judith are of a new translation. An edition of Becke's Matthew came out in 1551, "printed by

Thomas Petyt, dwelling in Paul's Churcheyarde, at the sign of the Maydens heade, and dated vi day of May." Eight publishers were concerned in the enterprise; and the colophon at the end of the New Testament bears that it was "diligently perused and corrected and imprinted by Nicolas Hyll, dwelling in Saynct Johns Streate, at the coste and charges of certayne honest menne of the occupacion, whose names be upon their bokes." Matthew's New Testament was issued in 1548, with a Latin version side by side; and an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, with Matthew's notes, appeared during the same year.

After Edward VI ascended the throne, Rogers came home. He was in England in 1548, for his preface to his translation of Melanchthon's "Weighing of the Interim" is dated 1st August, 1548, at London, "in Edward Whitechurch's house." Though he had been for years a "stranger in a strange land," and though his volume had now been superseded by the Great Bible, his work as editor of Matthew's Bible was not forgotten, for he was, on the 10th of May, 1550, presented simultaneously to the rectory of St. Margaret Moyses,[1] on the east side of Friday Street, and the vicarage of St. Sepulchre, London. The income of the last living was £440 in 1636, the incumbent's share being £180, and a parsonage. On the 24th of August, 1551, he was preferred to the prebendal stall of St. Pancras in St. Paul's, and to this stall the rectory of Chigwell in Essex was attached. He resigned St. Margaret Moyses seventeen days after he had become a prebendary. There were three stalls vacant at the time, and Grindal and Bradford were promoted by Ridley along with Rogers. The first escaped, and became Archbishop of Canterbury; but Bradford, Rogers, and their bishop perished in the flames. Rogers was also chosen by the dean and chapter to be divinity lecturer in St. Paul's, but he could have held this office for a very brief interval only, for he seems to have been admitted to it in June, 1553. The changes of that period produced strange results, for Gabriel Dunne, the

[1] It was destroyed in the great fire, and afterward the parish was annexed to that of St. Mildred. The church in Bread Street of this name represents the two parishes.

betrayer of Tyndale, occupied as prebendary the twelfth stall on the right hand of the choir, and Prebendary Rogers the sixth on the left.

The death of Edward VI was followed by dark days. Popery was re-established under Mary, and its earnest opponents, after a brief respite, were arrested and martyred. Bishop Gardyner, her chief counsellor, made it his policy to strike at the "head deer," and he began with an illustrious victim, singled out as a popular leader, and zealous and eloquent reformer, who, as he had been so long in the land of Luther, was believed to possess uncommon eagerness and intrepidity. In August, 1553, Rogers was ordered by the Lords of the Council to keep himself a prisoner in his house at Pauls. He remained for a long period in this confinement, and "spake with no man." He was at length sent to Newgate, and confined with thieves under a jailer named "Alexander Andrew, a strait man," according to Foxe, "and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed." On the 22nd of January, 1555, official proceedings against him commenced before the Privy Council, the Lord Chancellor Gardyner presiding. Gardiner seems to have abruptly demanded if he was willing, then and there, to abandon his new faith, and acknowledge the Papal creed and authority. . . . With true courage, he replied boldly that he recognized Christ as the only head of the Church, and declared his opinion that the Bishop of Rome—not the Pope—had no more or other authority in spiritual matters than any other of the numerous bishops then living. Then Gardyner, hastily imagining that he had already ensnared him, inasmuch as, in his Dedication of the Bible to King Henry VIII, he had addressed him as "the chief and supreme head of the Church of England," taunted him with the fact; and when Rogers, who was fully prepared for this objection, would have explained his meaning and shown that he was guilty of no inconsistency, the subject was turned into derision by the Bishops of Durham and Worcester; and Gardyner, refusing to listen to him, demanded again, still more peremptorily, a direct answer to his original question. Determined not to be brow-beaten, Rogers urged that neither he or the other bishops believed what they now required him to

avow, for they had not only preached the contrary doctrine for twenty years, but some of them had written books against it. There was so much truth in the assertion that Gardyner did not attempt to controvert it; but, in seeking to escape the consequences of its admission by one outlet, he fell instantly into a still more serious pit-fall, and alleged that he and others had been compelled, by means of the cruelties used towards them, to appear to consent to what was really against their consciences. Rogers promptly retorted that they were now endeavouring to force him to do violence to his conscience in a similar manner. . . . He continued his argument with the Lord Chancellor, who soon interrupted him again, and insisted upon a prompt reply to his first question. Finding that they were determined not to listen to him, he shortly responded in the negative, and asked permission to prove, in writing, the truth of all his propositions. This was instantly refused; and he was warned that, if he rejected the mercy then offered him, he should thereafter experience only justice. Declaring that, although he had never offended or disobeyed the Queen, he was yet willing to receive her mercy, he reminded them of the gross injustice that they were now manifesting; inasmuch as they themselves, twenty years before, had first led him to doubt the pretended primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and now they would not even discuss the question with him. Gardyner, to escape this home-thrust, recklessly flew to another position, and declared that he was forbidden by the Scriptures to dispute with a heretic. "I deny that I am a heretic," said Rogers quietly; "prove that first, and then allege your text." But this was also evaded, and his answer was again demanded; but he only repeated that he must first find in the Scriptures the right of the Bishop of Rome to be called supreme head.

After several appearances, Rogers and Bishop Hooper were condemned.[1] On being awaked "with much shogging" on the morning of his execution, and being told that he must die that day, he quietly said, "Then I need not

[1] An account of the trial written by Rogers himself may be found in Foxe, vol. VI, p. 591. Mr. Chester has printed it with great care from the Lansdowne MS. Life of Rogers, pp. 155 and 294.

tye my points." After being "degraded" by Bishop Bonner, assisted by his archdeacon and canons, he was the first sent to the flames, and calmly and bravely he met his fate, in the spirit of him who has the primacy of all the martyrs, and who prayed, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Every one knows the affecting story of his meeting, on his way to the stake, his wife, who had been so cruelly denied access to him by Bishop Gardyner during his imprisonment, his eleven children being with her, the eldest a lad about seventeen years old, and the youngest a suckling on her breast. But he surmounted the trial; "the sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him in the defence and quarrel of Christ's Gospel." He was burned at Smithfield on the 4th of February, 1555—thousands of thrilled spectators being attracted to the spot. Count Noailles, the French ambassador, wrote to Montmorency on the same day, "that Rogers' children so comforted him that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding." Foxe relates that Rogers, "being then in prison, did say to the printer of this book (John Day), who was then laid up for the like cause of religion," "Thou shalt live to see the alteration, and the Gospel to be freely preached again."[1] His children had been naturalized by Parliament, the royal assent being given to the Act on the 15th of April, 1552—the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Stourton, Sands, Windsor, and Burgh having voted against the bill in the House of Lords. Many families in England and America have claimed descent from John Rogers, but without sufficient proof. Biographical sketches of several of his sons and grandsons are given in Chester's "Life of John Rogers."[2] One granddaughter was married to the well known Puritan commentator Jenkyn, who was minister of Christ Church, so near the familiar scene of martyrdom.

Two incidents in connection with Matthew's Bible may be noticed. The first English Concordance sprang out of the study of it. When Marbeck, one of the organists of St. George's, Windsor, was arrested and tried in 1543, he confessed to the compilation of a Concordance drawn up from a borrowed copy

[1] Vol. VI, p. 610. [2] Page 259.

of Matthew's Bible, as he could not afford to buy a new one. The Bible was of such interest to him that he had begun to transcribe it for private study. When he had finished the transcription of the Pentateuch, "on fair, great paper," Master Turner called upon him unawares, and ascertaining the nature of his occupation, scorned his labour as "vain and tedious," but urged him to "set out" a Concordance. Marbeck, being wholly ignorant of the nature of such a work, asked, "What is that?" and his "friend" showed him that "it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letters." He then borrowed a Latin Concordance, and at once began to "practise his wit" upon the task, which required "not so much learning as diligence," "for thou art," said his friend, "a painful man, and cannot remain unoccupied." After a long trial before Gardyner and other bishops "sitting in commission," in 1543, he was, along with three others, condemned to the fire; but he was ultimately pardoned,[1] though Testwood, Peerson, and Filmer were burned on the meadow in front of Windsor Castle. The Concordance, dedicated to King Edward VI, was published in 1550, with the simple and significant title, "A Concordance, that is to saye, a worke wherein by the ordre of the letters A, B, C, yee may reddlye find any word conteyned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there expressed or mentioned."[2] By some mistake Foxe had said in his first edition that Marbeck had suffered; but in his second edition he shouts gleefully, "He liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present, and singeth merrily, and playeth on the organs." The martyrologist is very wroth with those who had attacked him for the error. Marbeck was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in 1549. He also supplied musical "notes" to an edition of the Book of Common Prayer published in 1550.[3]

In fine, it was upon this Bible of Matthew[4] that an ingenious alteration was tried by a person whom Wanley styles, "a vil-

[1] The story is graphically told in Foxe, vol. V, p. 472.

[2] London, Richard Grafton.

[3] Burney's History of Music, vol. II, p. 578.

[4] Account of Lord Oxford's Bible, Lewis, History, p. 46.

lainous fellow, commonly called Captain Thornton."[1] Fuller had made the erroneous assertion that in Wycliffe's version "knave" was used for "servant." Thornton, by a clever manipulation, erased "servaunte" in Romans i, 1, and pasted over the space the word "kneawe," in letters cut out from various parts of the volume. The preliminary leaves were taken away, the date on the title-page MDXXXVII was mutilated by paring off XVII, and the Bible with a new date of MDXX was sold to the Duke of Lauderdale, who prized it very highly as a literary curiosity, for it read in Rom. i, 1, "Paul a kneawe of Jesus Christ'" A Bible, affirmed to be the "identical" book, was included in the sale catalogue of the library of Mr. Offor (London, 1865); and the unsuspected forgery supplied a note to one of the Waverley fictions in explanation of the term "miller's knave." Knave does not occur in Wycliffe in the sense of servant; but the phrase knave-child, that is, male child, is used in the second version, Exodus i, 16, and Rev. xvii, 5. One MS., "ended in 1408," preserved in the Bodleian Library, and noted for many peculiar readings, has in Lev. xii, 7, "knave child." It also occurs in Chaucer's Clerk's Tale, as opposed to a "maiden child."

[1] Church History, vol. I, p. 456, ed. London, 1837.

THE GREAT BIBLE.

"Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,
And the configurations of their glory!
Seeing not only how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the story.

This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
These three make up some Christian's destiny.

Such are thy secrets, which my life makes good,
And comments on thee: for in every thing
Thy words do find me out, and parallels bring,
And in another make me understood.

Stars are poor books, and oftentimes do miss;
This book of stars lights to eternal bliss."

HERBERT.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE Bible of Matthew or Rogers, published in 1537, which was made up of Tyndale and Coverdale, was, from the very nature of its component parts, an unequal translation. It was, however, a step in advance toward the great end, and therefore a further revision was felt to be indispensable. Coverdale's method was vague and unsatisfactory, and Matthew's edition swarmed with provoking polemical annotations. But out of it, after careful critical labour a third Bible might be evolved for national use and circulation, and which, were it approved by competent scholars, might win its way by its own merits even among the adherents of the "old learning," Coverdale himself was chosen as reviser by his old patron Crumwell; the translator now became the editor, while the basis of the work was the rival Bible of Matthew. Though Rogers himself had been in this country, he might have been thought disqualified by his pronounced opinions, and, so far as we know, he had given no decided evidence of capacity as a translator. The pliant mind of Coverdale seems to have offered no opposition to a task, which might have appeared ungracious to some minds, for no man likes to depreciate the fruits of his industry. But in the dedication of the Diglott he had said, like himself, "No less do I esteem it my duty to amend other men's faults, than if they were my own;" while in the dedication of his Bible he had avowed to the king, "I am always willing and ready to do my best as well in one translation as in another." And true to his spontaneous pledge, he did not shrink from a toil which, as it was intended to eclipse his earlier effort, also implied a confession that his volume of

1535 was deficient in many elements of an accurate popular version. He had an innate liking for Biblical studies, and he pursued them in the true spirit of "simplicity and godly sincerity." No false pride kept him from amending what he had previously done, and he did not decline a work which was meant to supersede his own Bible, of which there had been three editions, and a portion of a fourth in Thomas Matthew's.[1] His constant motive was to make Scripture intelligible, to present the record of the Divine Will clearly and impressively to the English reader, and for this purpose he availed himself of the readiest assistance. Many good people must have been stumbled by the authorized circulation of two such Bibles as those of 1535 and 1537, the second clean and sharp as steel; the first quiet and equivocal, neither decidedly one thing nor another, but both by turns. Matthew's Bible must have stirred up great opposition; but by the new revision its distinctive and anti-papal element was now taken out of it. Samson's locks were shorn, and he became "like any other man." The tastes of Cranmer were consulted more than those of the vicegerent.

Several mistakes have been made about the origin of this revision. Hume records against all proof that "a vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures, and in three years' time the work was finished and published at Paris."[2] Burnet states that a motion to have a new version was made in Convocation in 1536; but he confesses, however, "to whom the work was committed, or how they proceeded in it, I know not, for the accounts of these things have not been preserved nor conveyed to us with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate, for, three years after this, it was printed at Paris."[3] But the narrative is utterly proofless, and

[1] Mr. Green (History of the English People, p. 332), states that Coverdale, in preparing the Great Bible, "collected the translations of Tyndale"; but the collection had been the work of Matthew, which Coverdale only revised to the best of his judgment.

[2] History of England, vol. IV, p. 122, London, 1825.

[3] History of the Reformation, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 357, Oxford, 1816.

contradicts what is definitely known of the birth of the Great Bible. Froude tells, "that Matthew's version, after being revised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was reprinted in 1538, 1539, 1540, and 1541, under the name of the Great Bible or Cranmer's.[1] But the revision was not published in 1538, and with the edition of 1539 Cranmer had nothing to do, as we shall presently see. Some have even surmised, without any evidence, that the scraps of the revision which the Archbishop had attempted in 1534, were used in the preparation of the new Bible; and it has even been contended, as by Lord Herbert,[2] that the king was now requested to order a new version without tables and comments, and that he committed the matter to Crumwell, who had obtained his sanction for the two previous editions. Certainly "his good lordship" is said to be "the causer thereof," and the reviser and the superintendent of the press, writing to him from Paris, call it "your work of the Bible." Whatever, therefore, the relation of the king to the edition might be, Crumwell was the prime mover, as the correspondence so plainly shows. Paris was fixed upon as the place of printing from the superiority of paper and workmanship to be found in it. Coverdale and Grafton went over to the French capital, probably in May, and the printing was immediately commenced at the press of Regnault. A royal license had been obtained from Francis, at the request of Henry, *noster carissimus frater*, but it contained stipulations which might at any time lead to the suspension of the enterprise; for the ecclesiastical authorities, though forced for a time to wink at it, were jealous of it from the beginning.[3] In an early communication to Crumwell, Coverdale and Grafton inform him, that they have sent him two copies on parchment—the only two to be so printed—one

[1] History of England, vol. IV, p. 291, fourth edition, 1867.

[2] England under Henry VIII, p. 614, London, 1870. Dibdin also (Bibliomania, p. 328) carelessly talks of it as being made "under the archiepiscopal patronage of Cranmer."

[3] The license was to last as long as they did not print "privatas ullas aut illegitimas opiniones." Strype's Life of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 439, Oxford, 1848. A copy of the license is given in his Appendix xxx.

for the king, and one for himself, and that they enclosed a third specimen, printed on the paper on which it was to be published. They also unfold their plan: "We follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek; but we set also in a private (separate) table the diversity of readings of all texts, with such annotations in another table, as shall doubtless delucidate and clear the same; as well without any singularity of opinions, as all checkings and reproofs. The print, no doubt, shall please your good lordship: the paper is of the best sort in France. The charge is certainly great; wherein as we most humbly require your favourable help at this present, with whatsoever it shall please your lordship to let us have. . . . We be daily threatened and look ever to be spoken to withal."[1] As the work proceeded, the method was more fully explained, and on the 9th of August they write to the Lord Privy Seal: "Your work going forward, we thought it our most bounden duty to send unto your lordship certain leaves thereof, specially seeing we had so good occasion, by the returning of your beloved servant Sebastian;[2] and as they are done, so will we send your lordship the residue, from time to time."[3]

"As touching the manner and order that we keep in the same work, pleaseth it your good lordship to be advertised, that the mark ☞ in the text signifieth that upon the same (in the latter end of the book) there is some notable annotations, which we have written without any private opinion, only after the best interpreters of the Hebrews, for the more clearness of the text.[4] This mark ❧ betokeneth that upon the same text there is diversity of reading, among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks, and Latinists, as in a table at the end

[1] Grafton signs himself, Richard Grafton, grocer.

[2] Sebastian is sometimes said to be Crumwell's cook. State Papers, Crumwell's Correspondence, vol. I, No. 167.

[3] Ibid., p. 108.

[4] During the last three years Coverdale may have obtained some knowledge of Hebrew; but he could learn all that he says from the "interpreters" usually consulted by him. The variations referred to might be easily found in the Complutensian Polyglott.

of the book shall be declared. This mark ✠ showeth that the sentence, written in small letters, is not in the Hebrew or Chaldee, but in the Latin, and seldom in the Greek, and that we, nevertheless, would not have it extinct, but highly accept it, for the more explanation of the text. This token † in the Old Testament giveth to understand that the same text that followeth it is also alleged of Christ, or of some Apostle in the New Testament. This, among other our necessary labours, is the way that we take in this work; trusting verily that as Almighty God moved your lordship to set us unto it, so shall it be to His glory, and right welcome to all them that love to serve Him, and their Prince, in true faithful obedience." On the 12th September they wrote again, telling that they had been instantly desired by their host to ask a license for him, who had been "an occupier" more than forty years, to sell in England books printed by him on the Continent, the importation having been prohibited by the Company of Booksellers, and as an inducement to grant the privilege they pleaded for, they subjoin, "We shall fare none the worse in the readiness and due expedition of this your lordships Bible, which is going well forward, and within four months will draw to an end by the grace of Almighty God." Coverdale had already asked a monopoly for James Nycolson, who published the second and third editions of his New Testament, and now in his kind-heartedness he asked a relaxation of patent on behalf of Regnault.

Bonner,[1] the English ambassador, and successor to Gardyner at Paris, had been very kind and patronizing to the English party, had them often at dinner, and often dined with them at the printer's house, when he generously defrayed the expense. He had taken a liking to Coverdale's Diglott Testament, and the license from the French king gave liberty to print

[1] Bishop elect of Hereford, formerly Archdeacon of Leicester, and afterwards Bishop of London, a reformer apparently up to the time of his elevation to the episcopal bench. He had been favoured by Crumwell, and did not appear in his true character till after his patron's execution. Bonner is said to have written the Homily on Charity.

Bibles in Latin and English—Latine quam Britannice. On the 13th of December, Coverdale asked to know Crumwell's pleasure about the annotations, and whether the places noted by the "hands" should pass undeclared, "promising to avoid any private opinion or contentious words," and offering all notes to be inspected by Bonner before they were printed. He also intimates that he sends home, through Bonner, another portion of the printed sheets, that these at least may be "safe," should the ecclesiastics of Paris "confiscate" what they could lay their hands on. His precaution was wise, and, indeed, a first warning put Coverdale and Grafton on their guard. Before the printing was finished, and four days after this last letter, an Inhibition was launched against them. The inquisitor-general had been influenced to interfere, and on the 17th December, 1538, he issued through Le Tellier, the "sworn scribe" of the Holy Office, an edict [1] forbidding the work, seized the pages already printed and not conveyed across the Channel, and cited the printer to appear before his tribunal. The Englishmen fled for safety, but left behind them many sheets, which were condemned to be "burned in the Place Maubert," close upon the Rue des Anglais.[2] But an officer of the Inquisition, for the sake of a little money, sold them as waste paper to a haberdasher "to lay caps in," and "four great dry vats" full of them were purchased and saved. Presses, types, and workmen were also in a short time brought over to England, and in two or three months the printing was completed—in April, 1539. This volume, begun in Paris, and finished in London, is the "GREAT BIBLE," the name being given it on account of its size.[3]

[1] The original is in the British Museum, Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. V., fol. 326.

[2] Foxe suggestively adds, "a spot like Smithfield."

[3] When Mr. Blunt, in his condemnation of Tyndale as a decided Protestant, virtually ranks his New Testament among those taken from secondary sources, and sneers at him for "thrusting himself forward as a translator, and hindering the progress of an authorized version," it is enough to reply that of the first authorized version of 1539, two-thirds were the immediate and personal work of Tyndale.

This first edition of the Great Bible, sometimes erroneously termed Cranmer's, is a handsome folio, printed in black letter, with the title—

"The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scripture, bothe of the olde & newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by the dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Prynted by Rychard Grafton & Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1539." The colophon carries, "The Ende of the New Testament & of the whole Byble, Fynisshed in Apryll, Anno MCCCCCXXXIX. A Domino factum est istud."

There is no proof that these "dyverse excellent learned men" were living divines working with Coverdale, and there is no trace of any such co-operation in his correspondence. But the versions so referred to are easily recognized, for the Bible was made by the continuous consultation of Münster and Erasmus. The Latin motto quoted from Psalm cxviii, 23, is a grateful recognition of the kind and watchful guardianship of the Divine Author of Scripture. Grafton, who had charge of the printing, has this high witness borne to him in a recommendatory epistle prefixed to his Chronicle by Thomas N. . . . "The Bible in English, that vnvaluable Jewell, we haue by his trauayle, first with his charge and attendaunce procuring the translation thereof, then sundrie times copying the same out with his own hande, thirdly printing it in Fraunce with his great expense and perill. . . . Not discouraged herewith, but still caried with zeale to doe good, he attempted the woorke againe, and to Gods great praise and to the edification of Christes Church, performed it." Grafton was of good family and appears at one time to have had a seat in Parliament; but he became so poor in his old age, that he applied to be taken on as a government informer.

The Bible has an elaborately artistical frontispiece, designed by Holbein. At the top is the Saviour in the clouds, with two Latin scrolls issuing from His lips, the one thrown out towards the right hand being, Verbum meum quod egredietur de ore meo non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet

quaecunque volui, Esa. lv;[1] and that towards the left being, Inveni virum juxta cor meum, qui faciet omnes voluntates meas.[2] Below the figure in the clouds is the king on his throne, with his crown and insignia of the Garter at his feet, and holding in each hand a book entitled, Verbum Dei. On the right of the throne stand Cranmer and some ecclesiastics, with their mitres on the ground; and as the king presents the book to Cranmer, the scroll addressed to him, as representing the group, is, Hæc praecipe et doce.[3] Upon the king's left stands Crumwell with other peers. The king gives the book to him as their leader, and the thick and heavy scroll intended for them reads, A me constitutum est decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo homines tremiscant et paveant Deum viventem.[4] There is another scroll lying over the royal breast, also addressed to them, inscribed with the words, Quod justum est, judicate.[5]—Ita parvum audietis ut magnum.[6] One of the group, kneeling, has the legend issuing from his mouth, Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis.[7] Lower down on the one side of the title which occupies the centre, Crumwell is depicted again with the Verbum Dei in his hand which he is giving to those around him, with the scroll over his head, Diuerte a malo et fac bonum, inquire pacem et persequere eam.[8] Psalm xxxiii. On the other side of the title, Cranmer, arrayed in pontificals, with his coat-of-arms at his feet, is giving the Verbum Dei to the eager clergy, with the issuing scroll, Pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem Christi, prima Pe. v.[9] The last compartment, under the title, fills the whole breadth of the page,

[1] So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please. Isaiah lv, 18.

[2] I have found a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will. Acts xiii, 22.

[3] These things command and teach. 1 Tim. iv 11.

[4] I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the living God. Daniel vi, 26.

[5] Judge righteously. Deut. i, 16.

[6] Ye shall hear the small as well as the great. Deut. i, 17.

[7] Thy word is a lamp unto my feet. Psalm cxix, 105.

[8] Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. Psalm xxxiv, 14.

[9] Feed the flock of God which is among you. 1 Peter v, 2.

like the first compartment above it. In one corner a preacher is addressing a crowd, and the scroll contains his text, Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus,[1] &c., 1 Timo. ii; and the congregation are shouting in reply, some Vivat Rex, and some, including females, God save the Kynge. At the lower portion of the left-hand corner are children, who are not supposed to know Latin, and who are also shouting God save the Kynge. Three prisoners, looking out on the scene from grated windows, appear to be filled with chagrin and amazement, while the people in front, notably a figure girt with a sword, are flaunting toward them many a Vivat Rex, in scorn of their disloyalty.

The numerous notes in Matthew's Bible, and its prefatory theological miscellany, were set aside; and Bale ascribes such removal of the annotation table and prefaces to popish influence. The Great Bible has no notes, not even a dedication. Coverdale's own proposed annotations were omitted; and the volume, in the eyes of its editor, must have appeared naked, while the ingenious apparatus of signals pointed specially to that nakedness. So that the short preface makes explanation and apology: "We have also (as ye may see) added many hands, both in the margin of this volume and also in the text, upon the which we purposed to have made, in the end of the Bible (in a table by themselves), certain godly annotations, but, forasmuch as yet there hath not been sufficient time ministered to the king's most honourable council for the oversight and correction of the said annotations, we will therefore omit them till their more convenient leisure, doing now no more but beseech thee, most gentle reader, that when thou comest at such a place where a hand doth stand, . . . and thou canst not attain to the meaning and true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any private interpretation thereof, but submit thyself to the judgment of those that are godly learned in Christ Jesus." The "more

[1] I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, &c. 1 Timothy ii, 1, 2.

convenient" leisure never came, though several editions retained the "hands" and other signs.

Coverdale's language in the previous sentences betrays his constitutional weakness, his want of firmness and decision. He sacrificed somewhat to expediency, and wished to be "all things to men" in a way more flaccid than he who first used the phrase ever intended or exemplified. But his pliancy arose not from any regard to worldly interest or honour; it sprang from a desire to charm others over to his opinions. He would not be unfaithful; but he could give his fidelity, if it were to cause offence, the gentleness of the dove. He was too apt to forget that the "soft answer" may not be the most effective answer, though it turn away wrath. It was undutiful to himself and to his convictions to profess such eagerness to tune his annotations so as to suit the temper and likings of those who might inspect and criticize them.

The Great Bible owed its existence to Crumwell and to his Protestant zeal. He had determined that there should be such a book, and he was not a man to be lightly turned from his purpose, for the prominent elements of his character were decision and energy. The merit then belongs really to the vicegerent, and neither to the king nor the archbishop. The copy designed for himself—printed on vellum, with gilt leaves, the covers embossed with brass, and the frontispiece having his arms in colours—is now in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Crumwell had also been preparing measures for its immediate and extensive circulation. The archbishop had laid injunctions on the diocese of Hereford that its clergy "shall have by the first day of August next coming (1539 ?), as well a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at least a New Testament of both the same languages, as the copies of the king's highness' injunctions." This document, drawn up some time in 1538, pointed to the forthcoming volume of the next year. The vicar-general had issued injunctions also as early as September, when the interruption could not have been foreseen: "Item, that ye shall provide on this side the feast of —— —— next comyng, one boke of the whole Bible in the largest volume in Englyshe, and the same sett up in summe

convenyent place within the said churche that ye have cure of, whereat your parishners may most commodiously resort to the same and rede yt; the charges of whiche boke shal be vatablie born between the parson and the parishners aforsaid, that is to say, the one half by youe, and th' other half by them." Latimer issued similar injunctions to the diocese of Worcester. "The Bible of largest volume in English" specified in this Injunction is, without doubt, the Great Bible. In size none of the others can compete with it, neither Coverdale's nor Matthew's. Its pages are fully fifteen inches in length, and over nine in breadth. There was also a royal proclamation repeating and enforcing many portions of a previous edict.[1]

And so the work was done. The order had gone forth for the free circulation of Scripture, and was not for some time to be recalled. Private enterprise had translated and multiplied the English Bible, in spite of keen and malignant opposition. The king gave no grant in assistance, nor was any sum voted from the exchequer. Bishop Gardyner had no influence at the moment to prevent it; but the clergy did "malign the printing of this Bible."

The Great Bible of 1539 is the text of Matthew revised; or is, in other words, Coverdale's revision both of his own and Tyndale's translation. In the revision of the New Testament Coverdale had the assistance of the Latin version of Erasmus, and in many cases was influenced by it. Thus, from the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. iii, the following specimens may be taken:—

Verse	Tyndale.	Great Bible, 1539.[2]
3	Ye would now end.	ye now end.
4	if that be vain.	if it be also in vain.
5	Which ministered to you.	Moreover he that ministereth.
7	Understand therefore that.	Ye know therefore.
8	the scripture saw aforehand.	the scripture seeing aforehand.
9	and therefore.	———
10	under malediction.	subject to the curse.

[1] Burnet, p. 337,

[2] 3, consummamini; 4, si et frustra; 5, qui igitur; 7, scitis igitur; 8, prævidens; 9, omitted in Erasmus and in the Great Bible; 10, execrationi obnoxii.

Verse	TYNDALE.	GREAT BIBLE, 1539.[1]
13	was made accursed.	inasmuch as he was made accursed.
14	and that we might receive.	that we might receive.
15	I will speak.	I speak.
	when it is once allowed.	if it be allowed.
16	as in one.	as of one.
18	cometh not.	cometh not now.
21	howbeit if there had been a law.	for if there had been given.
	should have come.	should come.
23	Before that faith came.	but before that.
	kept & shut up under the law.	kept under the law & were shut up.
24	unto the time of Christ.	unto Christ.
25	sons of God by the faith.	children of God because ye believe.
28	now is there no.	there is no.
	but ye are all one thing.	for ye are all one.
29	by promise.	according to the promise.

Münster especially, and Pagninus served the same purpose for the Old Testament that Erasmus did for the New. Over twenty years after this period, Bishop Sandys said with perfect truth, "The setters forth of this our common translation [the Great Bible] followed Münster too much, who doubtless was a very negligent man in his doings, and often swerved very much from the Hebrew." Bishop Sandys is right as to the fact that Münster was constantly used; but his disparagement of the Latin version of Münster is baseless; for it is very literal, and on the whole accurate, though the Latin idiom is occasionally sacrificed.[2] The following collation of the second Psalm

[1] 13, dum factus est; 14, *and* omitted in the Great Bible and Erasmus; 15, dico; si sit comprobatum; 16, de uno; 18, non jam; 21, etenim si data; esset; 23, cæterum; sub lege custodiebamur, conclusi— Vulgate also; 24, ad Christum; 25, eo quod credidistis; 28, non est; omnes enim vos unus estis; 29, juxta promissionem. Erasmus.

[2] Sebastian Münster, born in 1489, studied under Stapfer and Reuchlin at Tübingen; was Professor of Hebrew, first at Heidelberg, and then at Basle. Died there of the plague in 1552. Besides many works bearing on Hebrew philology, he published a Latin version of the Old Testament with notes from Rabbinical commentaries, two vols., folio, Basil, 1534-35, reprinted in 1546. The translation is literal and perspicuous. Father Simon and Geddes prefer it, though it be the work of a Protestant, to the version of Pagninus.

and the twenty-third Psalm may suffice as an illustration :—

Verse	Coverdale.	Great Bible, 1539.
1	Why do the Heithen grudge? why do the people ymagyne vayne thinges?	Why do the heathen so *furiously rage*[1] together; & why do the people imagine *a vain thing.*[2]
2	The kynges of the earthe stode vp, & the rulers are come together, agaynst the Lorde, & agaynst his anoynted.	The kings of the earth stand up, & the rulers *take counsel together:*[3] against the Lord & against his Anointed.
3	Let vs breake their bondes a sunder, & cast a waye their *yocke*[4] from vs.	Let us break their bonds asunder; & cast away their *cords*[5] from us.
4	*Neverthelesse,*[6] he that dwelleth in heauen, shall laugh them to scorne; *yee euen*[7] the Lord himselff shall have them in derision.	[8] He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn : [9] the Lord shall have them in derision.
5	Then shal he speake vnto them in his wrathe, and vexe them in his sore displeasure.[10]	Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath; and vex them in his sore displeasure.
6	Yet haue I set my kynge vpon my holy hill of Sion.[11]	Yet have I set my king: upon my holy hill of Sion.
7	*As for me,*[12] I will *preache*[13] the lawe; wherof the Lorde hath sayde vnto me: Thou art my sonne, this daye haue I begotten the.	I will preach the law, whereof the Lord hath said unto me : Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.

[1] Ad tumultum conveniunt, Münster.

[2] Rem inanem, Münster

[3] Simul ineunt consilium, Münster; consiliabuntur pariter, Pagninus.

[4] Jugum, Vulgate.

[5] Funes eorum, Münster and Pagninus.

[6] "Nevertheless" represents the "Aber" of Luther and the Zürich Bible.

[7] "Yee even" may represent the repeated "der" of the Zürich version.

[8] No word representing "Nevertheless" is found in Münster or Pagninus.

[9] No word representing "Yea even" is found in the Hebrew or the Latin versions.

[10] Coverdale follows the Vulgate in preference to the Zürich.

[11] Coverdale follows Luther and the Zürich in preference to the Latin version.

[12] "As for me," probably suggested by the "bey mir selbs" of the Zürich Bible.

[13] Predigen, Luther.

Verse.	COVERDALE.	GREAT BIBLE, 1539.
8	*Desyre off me,*[1] & I shall geue the the Heithen for thine enheritaunce, Yee the vttermost partes of the worlde for thy possession.	Desire of me, & I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance: & the utmost parts of the *earth*[2] for thy possession.
9	Thou shalt *rule*[3] them with a rodde of yron, & breake them in peces like an erthen vessell.	Thou shalt *bruise*[4] *them* with a rod of iron; & *break them*[5] in pieces like a *potter's vessel.*[6]
10	Be wyse now therfore (o ye kynges) *be warned,*[7] ye that are judges of the earth.	Be wise now therefore, O ye kings! *be learned*[8] ye that are judges of the earth.
11	Serve the Lorde *with*[9] feare, & reioyce before him with reuerence.	Serve the Lord *in fear:*[10] & rejoice *unto him*[11] with reverence.
12	Kysse the sonne, lest *the Lorde*[12] be angrie, & so ye perish from the *right*[13] waye. *For*[14] *his wrath* shalbe kindled *shortly*[15]; blessed are all they that put their trust in him.	Kiss the son lest *he*[16] be angry, and so ye perish from the right way: *if his wrath* be kindled[17] *(yea, but a little),*[18] blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

The words "unto him" in verse 11, and "right" in verse 12, are printed in small type in the edition of 1540.

PSALM XXIII.

1	The Lorde is my shepherde,[19] I can want nothinge.	The Lorde is my shepherde, *therefore*[20] can I lack nothing.

[1] Zürich Bible.
[2] Terræ, Münster.
[3] Reges, Vulgate; regieren, Zürich Bible.
[4] Conteres, Pagninus.
[5] Confringes, Pagninus—the two verbs being reversed in Münster.
[6] Vas figuli, Vulgate and Latin versions.
[7] Suggested by Luther and the Zürich Bible.
[8] Erudiamini, Münster.
[9] Luther and the Zürich Bible.
[10] In timore, Vulgate and Münster.
[11] Vulgate and Sept.
[12] Vulgate and Sept.
[13] Vulgate and Sept.
[14] Denn, Luther.
[15] In brevi, Vulgate; bald, Luther.
[16] "The Lord" omitted in Münster.
[17] Ne irascatur, Münster.
[18] Vel paululum, Münster.
[19] Coverdale has not translated the "darumb" of the Zürich Bible, but follows the Vulgate and Luther.
[20] Ideo, Münster.

Verse	COVERDALE.	GREAT BIBLE, 1539.
2	He *fedeth*[1] me in a greene pasture; & ledeth me to *a fresh water.*[2]	He *shall*[3] fede me in a grene pasture, & leade me *forthe*[4] *besyde*[5] the *waters of comforte.*[6]
3	He *quickeneth my soule,*[7] and bringeth me forth in the waye of rightuousnes for his names sake.	*He shall converte*[8] my soule, & bryng me forth in the *pathes*[9] of ryghteousnes for hys names sake.
4	Though I shulde walke *now*[10] *in*[11] the valley of the shadowe of death, *yet*[12] I feare no euell, for thou art with me; thy staffe & thy shepehoke *comforte*[13] me	*Yee*[14] though I walke *thorow*[15] ye valley of the shadow of death, I will fear *no euell,*[16] for thou art with me, thy rodde & thy staffe comforte me.
5	Thou preparest a table before me *agaynst mine enemies*;[17] thou anoyntest my heade with oyle, & *fyllest my cuppe*[18] full.	*Thou shalt prepare*[19] a table before me agaynst *them that trouble me,*[20] thou *hast*[21] anoynted my head with oyle, & my *cuppe shalbe full.*[22]
6	Oh let thy louying kyndnes & mercy folowe me all the dayes off my life *that I maye dwell*[23] in the house off the Lorde for euer.	*But*[24] (thy) louynge kyndes & mercy *shall*[25] folowe me all the dayes of my lyfe, *I will dwell*[26] in the house of the Lord for ever.

[1] Er weidet mich, Luther and the Zürich.

[2] After Luther, the Zürich having "still waters." The phrase adopted by the Genevan came through it into the Authorized Version.

[3] Accubare faciet, "shall make me to lie down," Münster.

[4] Deducet.

[5] Juxta, Münster.

[6] Aquas refrigerii, do.

[7] Erquicket, Zürich and Luther.

[8] Convertet, Pagninus.

[9] In semitis, Münster.

[10] Schon, Luther and the Zürich.

[11] In Vulgate and Zürich.

[12] Doch, Zürich.

[13] Future form in Hebrew.

[14] Etiam, Pagninus and Münster.

[15] Per, Pagninus and Münster.

[16] Malum, Pagninus and Münster.

[17] Contra, Pagninus.

[18] Füllest, Zürich.

[19] Præparabis, Münster and Pagninus.

[20] Adversus eos, Münster.

[21] Münster and Pagninus.

[22] Saturus, do. do.

[23] Vulgate and Zürich.

[24] Veruntamen, Münster and Pagninus.

[25] Sequentur, do. do.

[26] Morabor, do. do.

"*And* I will dwell" being in the edition of 1540.

So careful had been Coverdale's revision, and so little attachment had he to his previous version, that in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, the Bible of 1539 differs in nearly forty places from his earlier one of 1535.

The enemies of a free English Bible were spiteful in their attempts to frustrate the proclamation, quoted on a previous page. Many "parsons, vicars, and curates, read confusedly the Word of God; and the injunctions set forth and commanded by them to be read; humming, and hawing, and hawking thereat, that scarce any could understand them." "When your royal highness gave commandment that the bishops should see that there were in every church one Bible at least, set at liberty, so that every man might freely come to it, and read therein, many of this wicked generation, as well priests as others their faithful adherents, would pluck it, either into the quire, or else into some pew, where poor men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches that hath no Bible at all."[1] . . . "They bade their parishioners notwithstanding what they read, being compelled so to do, that they should do as they did in times past as their fathers; and that the old fashion is the best: and other crafty and seditious sayings they gave among them."

The Bible of 1539 was, however, warmly welcomed by the people, and the words of Strype, taken from a manuscript of Foxe, more probably apply to it than to the earlier edition of Matthew:[2] "It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received not only among the learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the reformation; but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them if they could not themselves, and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose, and even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read."

[1] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. I, pt i, p. 612; Life of Coverdale, p. 199.

[2] Life of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 141.

This statement is corroborated by a document found in the State Paper Office, and printed by Collier: "Englishmen have now in hand in every church, and place, and almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue, instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of the Table Round, Lancelot du Lake, Huou de Bourdeux, Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, &c., and such other, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished utterly." [1]

[1] Ecclesiastical History, vol. IX, p. 162, London, 1852.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DURING the autumn of this year (1539), preparations were made for the printing of a new edition at home, Parisian types and workmen being still kept in London. Cranmer was naturally busy about the work, for he felt that it needed some special superintendence. His own mind was opening more fully to the light, and amidst the perplexing secular intricacies and anxieties attaching to his office, and the political combinations which he had daily to deal with in that period of change, he resolved on securing for the Bible an unimpeded circulation. To the volume in progress, which often goes under his name, he composed a preface which, through Crumwell, was to be submitted to the king. On this matter he writes to the vicegerent, on the 14th of November, 1539, a sensible and practical letter, asking whether the preface[1] to the Bible had got the royal approval, and discussing the price of the prepared volume. The archbishop settled it at 13s. 4d., which Crumwell had thought rather high, and the publisher naturally rather low. But Berthelet and Whitchurch were willing to fix it at 10s. on condition that they alone were to print and publish it. It is certainly a very strange coincidence that, on the 14th November, 1539—the date of Cranmer's letter—Crumwell got from

[1] Mr. Hunt (Religious Thought in England, vol. I, p. 33), gives this hypothetic proof or illustration of Cranmer's moderate Calvinism, "If we are to take the notes on the Great Bible, known as Cranmer's Bible, to be his, which certainly we ought to do." But the Great Bible is specially marked by the total absence of all notes, the pointing hands indicating a purpose unfulfilled.

the king a patent, conferring on him the sole and unlimited power of licensing the printing and publication of English Bibles for the next five years. The early and curious patent, so distinct and precise in its terms, runs to the following effect—

"Henry the Eighth, &c. To all and singular prynters and sellers of bookes within this our realme, and to all other officers, mynisters, and subjectes, these our Letters hearyng or seeyng, Greetyng—

"We let you witt, that beyng desirous to have our people at tymes convenyent geve themselves to th' atteynyng of the knoulege of Goddes Worde, whereby they shall the better honour hym, and observe and kepe his commaundements, and also do their duties the better to us beyng their prince and soveraign lord; and considering that as this oure zeale and desire cannot by any meane take so good effecte, as by the graunting to theym the free and lyberall use of the Bible in oure oune maternall English tongue; so onles it be forseen, that the same passe at the beginnyng by one Translation to be perused and considerid, the frailte of menne is suche, that the diversitie thereof maye brede and brnyge forthe manyfolde inconvenyences, as when wilfull and hedy folks shall conferre upon the diversitie of the said Translations: We have therfore appoynted oure right trusty and welbeloved counsellour the lorde Crumwell, keeper of our pryvye seale, to take for us, and in oure name, special care and charge, that no manner of persone or persones within this our realme shall enterprise, attempt, or sett in hand, to print any Bible in the English tonge of any maner of volume, duryng the space of fyve yeres next ensuyng after the date hereof, but only suche as shall be deputid, assignid, and admitted, by the said lord Crumwell. Willing and commanding all maires, shirefes, bailiffes, constables, and all other oure officers, ministres, and subjectes, to be ayding to our said counsailour in the execution of this oure pleasure, and to be conformable in the accomplishment of the same, as shall apperteigne." [1]

[1] Wilkins, Concilia, vol. III, p. 846. Burnet, Records, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 283.

This proclamation, which in these days had the force of law, ends with the peremptory *per ipsum regem*,[1] is quite autocratic, and wholly ignores Council, Convocation, and Parliament. It bases itself on the king's sole and sovereign will, and interposes the full royal authority against all resistance. There were probably some existing circumstances which suggested the royal incisiveness. The Bible about which Cranmer corresponded with the Privy Seal, was still delayed in publication, and one reason given by Fulke is, that Henry consulted the bishops, and that these mitred critics did not commit themselves by a hasty response. The preface was ready by November; but the volume was not published till the April of the following year. The story, which most probably refers to this Bible, is told by Fulke. "I myself, and so did many hundreds beside me, heard that reverend father, M. Doctor Coverdale, of holy and reverend memory, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, upon occasion of some slanderous reports that then were raised against his translation, declare his faithful purpose in doing the same; which after it was finished, and presented to the king, Henry VIII, of famous memory, and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, of which (as I remember) Stephen Gardiner was one; after they had kept it long in their hands, and the king was diverse times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last, being called for by the king himself, they redelivered the book, and being demanded by the king what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there was many faults therein. 'Well,' said the king, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, there were no heresies they could find maintained thereby. 'If there be no heresies,' said the king, 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.'[2] According to this judgment of the king and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended his translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which, if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend;

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XIV, p. 649.

[2] Defence of Translations of the Bible, p. 98, Parker Society ed.

but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by his translation." Coverdale's statement about reviewing his version "twice before" describes the work which he had done on the Bibles of 1539 and 1540. The reference cannot be to the Diglott; and it can scarcely be to the two editions "overseen and corrected," of his own first translation which were published in 1537, for the changes in these are so very few and slight, that the process could not with any propriety be called "reviewing."

But though the Bibles of 1539 and 1540 were not wholly of his first translation, as they included a large portion of Tyndale's work, they were the result of a genuine revision carried out by him, but not with uniform closeness through all the books of Scripture. Coverdale was certainly the editor of the second Great Bible, as well as of the first one. Fulke in his "Defence of English Translations" from the attack of Gregory Martin, thus replies to his opponent's loose reference to various editions,—"I guess that the Bible of 1562 is that which was of Dr. Coverdale's translation,"[1] and in another place, he calls it, "Master Coverdale's Bible of 1562."[2] Now, the Bible of 1562 was a reprint of the Great Bible of 1540. Gregory Martin singles out the Great Bible in one passage as "the Bible authorized by the Archbishop, and read all king Edward's time in their churches and (as it seemeth by the late printing again, anno 1562) a great part of this queen's reign."[3]

Cranmer's prologue is judicious in its choice of topics, and quiet but earnest in spirit and language. Thus it opens: "Concerning two sundry sorts of people, it seemeth necessary that something be said in the entry of this book, by way of a preface or prologue; whereby hereafter it may be both the the better accepted of them which hitherto could not well bear it, and also the better used of them which heretofore have misused it. For truly some there are that be too slow, and need the spur; some other seem too quick, and need more of the bridle. Some lose their game by short shooting; some by

[1] Defence of Translations of the Bible, p. 68, Parker Society ed.

[2] Do., p. 548.

[3] Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions, &c., p. 11, Rheims, John Fogny, 1582.

overshooting. Some walk too much on the left hand; some too much on the right. In the former sort by all they that refuse to read, or to hear read, the Scripture in the vulgar tongue; much worse they that let also, or discourage, the other from the reading or hearing thereof. In the latter sort be they which, by their inordinate reading, indiscrete speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwise by their licentious living, slander and hinder the Word of God most of all other, whereof they would seem to be greatest furtherers. These two sorts, albeit they be most far unlike the one to the other, yet they both deserve in effect like reproach. Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judge the more offender, him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledge, or him that so ungodly and so ungoodly abuseth the same." Then follows a vindication of English translations according to ancient custom, succeeded by a long extract from Chrysostom on the duty and benefit of reading the Holy Scriptures, with a pithy application from Cranmer himself: "Therefore, in few words, to comprehend the largeness and utility of the Scripture, how it containeth fruitful instruction and erudition for every man, if anything be necessary to be learned, of the Holy Scripture we may learn it. If falsehood shall be reproved, thereof we may gather wherewithal. If anything to be corrected and amended; if there need any exhortation or consolation, of the Scripture we may well learn. In the Scriptures be the fat pastures of the soul; therein is no venomous meat, no unwholesome thing: they be the very dainty and pure feeding. He that is ignorant shall find there what he should learn. He that is a perverse sinner shall there find his damnation to make him to tremble for fear. He that laboureth to serve God shall there find his glory, and the promissions of eternal life, exhorting him more diligently to labour. Herein may princes learn how to govern their subjects; subjects obedience, love, and dread to their princes; husbands, how they should behave unto their wives, how to educate their children and servants; and contrary, wives, children, and servants may know their duty to their husbands, parents, and masters.

Here may all manner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned, sick, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men; virgins, wives, widows, lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they be; may in this book learn all things what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves and all other. Briefly, to the reading of the Scripture none can be enemy, but that either be too so sick, that they love not to hear of any medicine; or else that be so ignorant that they know not Scripture to be the most healthful medicine. Therefore, as touching this former part, I will here conclude and take it for conclusion, sufficiently determined and appointed, that it is convenient and good for the Scriptures to be read of all sorts and kinds of people, and in the vulgar tongue, without further allegations and probations for same. Wherefore, I would advise you all, that come to the reading or hearing of This Book, which is the Word of God, the most precious jewel, and most holy relic that remaineth upon earth, that ye bring with you the fear of God, and that ye do it with all reverence, and use your knowledge thereof not to vain glory of frivolous disputation; but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, and edification both of yourselves and others." Next there is a long and appropriate quotation from St. Gregory Nazianzen, on those who did not considerately read and study the Word of God—"idle babblers and talkers"; the conclusion being, "This is the mind and almost the words of Gregory Nazianzen, doctor of the Greek Church, of whom St. Jerome said, that unto his time the Latin Church had no writer able to be compared, and to make an even match with him. Therefore, to conclude the latter part, every man that cometh to the reading of This Holy Book ought to bring with him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God; and then, next, a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self according thereunto; and so to continue, proceed, and prosper, from time to time; showing himself to be a sober and fruitful hearer and learner. Which if he do, he

shall prove at length well able to teach, though not with his mouth, yet with his living and good example; which is sure the most lively and effectuous form and manner of teaching. He that otherwise intermeddleth with This Book, let him be assured that once he shall make account therefore, when he shall have said to him, as it is written in the prophet David, "Peccatori dicit Deus, &c.

The volume, with Cranmer's prologue, was at length published in April, 1540, with the following title in black and red:

"The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of al the holy scrypture, both of the olde, and newe testament, with a prologe therinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archbysshop of Cantorbury, This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches. Prynted by Rychard Grafton. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, M.D.XL." The colophon is "The ende of the newe Testament; and of the whole Byble, fynisshed in Apryll, anno M.CCCCC.XL. *A Domino factum est istud.*" A royal proclamation followed, repeating the terms of one previously issued. Two other editions were issued in the same year, and three more followed the next year.

The very vacillations of some men of that time betokened progress; for while the waves singly fall back on the shore, the tide surely advances to its fulness. Thus William Barlow, who had changed sides more than once, and died at length Bishop of Chichester, published a dialogue against "Luthers faccions" in 1531, and in it objected to Tyndale's translation, asserting that "for the present" the Scripture should not be rendered into English. This limitation of time foreshadowed the coming of a future period when there might be an Authorized Version, and it came in six years, and was now in wide unrestricted diffusion.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

AS the text of the Bible of 1539 differed from Matthew, of which it was a revision, so the text of the Bible of 1540 differs from that of 1539, Coverdale being very conscientious in what he did, though his changes are not all to the better. Münster's Latin version is for the most part followed in the old Testament, but not always; and where it may not be formally accepted it suggests the change. Some instances are striking:[1] Proverbs xviii, 1. The edition of 1539 has, "Whoso hath pleasure to sowe dyscorde, pycketh a quarrell in every thynge," Coverdale's own translation after the Zürich Bible unchanged; in the edition of 1540, "He accompanieth hym selfe with all steadfast and helthsome doctryne, that hath a fervent desyre to it, and is sequestrate from companye," after Münster:[2] xix, 2, "There the soule is not well; & who so is swyfte on fote, stombleth hastely," 1539; "There the soule is inclined to the thyng that is not good; & is swyfte on fote, and offendeth," 1540, after Münster:[3] xix, 19, "For greate wrath bringeth harme, therefore let hym go, and so mayest thou teach hym more nurtoure," 1539; "A man of great wrath beareth a payne; and though thou once deliver him, thou must agayne do as moch for him," 1540, after

[1] Every scholar and critic must feel deeply obliged to Mr. Francis Fry for his volume "A Description of the Great Bible," &c. London, 1865. He has given a minute, careful, and exhaustive collation of the various editions.

[2] Qui in votis est et quærit sequestrari, hic immiscet se omni solidæ et sanæ (doctrinæ).

[3] Anima (fertur ad id quod) non est bonum, festinatque pedibus et peccat.

Münster:[1] xix, 24, "A slouthfull body shuteth his hande in to hys bosome, so that he can not put it to his mouth," 1539; "A slouthful man shuteth his handes into his bosom as into the pot: and wyll not take payne to put it to his mouth," 1540, after Münster.[2]

Eccles. xi, 1, "Sende thy vitayles ouer the waters, and so shalt thou fynde them after many dayes," 1539; "Lay thy brede vpon weate faces, and so shalt thou fynde after many days," 1540, virtually after Münster:[3] xi, 5, "As thou knowest not the waye of the wynde, nor how the bones are fylled in a mothers wombe," 1539; "As thou knowest not the waye of the spirit howe he entred into the body beinge yet in a mother's wombe," 1540, after Münster.[4]

Hosea x, 12, "That they myght plowe vp their fresh land, and seke the Lord, tyll he came, and lerned them ryghteousness" 1539; "Plowe up youre freshe lande, for it is tyme to seake the Lorde tyll he come and rayne rightuousnesse vpon you," 1540, Münster.[5]

Zech. ix, 16, "For the stones of his Sanctuary shal be set vp in his lande," 1539; "Ffor as precyous stones of a dyademe they shall be sett vp ouer his lande," 1540, Münster.[6]

Jeremiah viii, 4, "And turne they so farre awaye, that they neuer conuerte," 1539; "Or yf Israell repent, wyll not god turne ageyn to them?" 1540, Münster:[7] viii, 22, "For there is no more Triacle at Gylead, and there is no Physicyon that can heale the hurte of my people," 1539; "Is there triacle at Gilead? Is ther no physycyon ther?

[1] Qui est (homo) magni furoris, portat pœnam, et si eum semel liberaveris denuo id agere te oportebit.

[2] Abscondit piger manum suam (in sinu quasi) in olla, et dedignatur eam reducere ad os suum.

[3] Mitte panem tuum super facies (emittentes) aquas.

[4] Sicut tu nescis qua via (ingreditur) spiritus in corpusculum cum adhuc est in utero pregnantis.

[5] Novate vobis novalia, tempus enim est ad inquirendum dominum, donec veniat et pluat super nos justitiam.

[6] Quia ut lapides coronæ elevabuntur super terram ejus.

[7] Aut si pœniteat (Israel) et non revertetur (deus)?

Why then is not the helthe of my people recouered?" 1540, Münster.[1]

Other examples may be quoted, Münster being guide:—

	1539.	1540.
1 Sam.	xxi, 4, clause omitted.	thynges especiallye.
Ps.	xxvii, 3, I put my trust in hym.	I put my trust in this.
	6, the oblacion of thankesgeuyng.	an oblacyon with great gladnesse.
	13, omitted.	I shuld vtterlye haue faynted: but that.
Isaiah	i, 7, as it were with enemyes in a batayle.	as they were subverted that were alienate from the Lorde.
	8, lyke a beseged cytie.	lyke a wasted cytie.
	11, sacryfyces vnto me?	sacrifices unto me saithe Lorde?
	ii, 16, vpon all shyppes of the see.	vpon all shyppes of Tharsis.
	xxxviii, 10, in my least age.	when mine age was shortened.
Jer.	viii, 19, foolyshe straunge fashyons?	foolysh straunge fashyons of a foreyne god?
Lam.	iv, 20, shal be taken in oure synnes, of whom we saye.	was taken in ther nett of whom we saye.
Dan.	v, 7, Caldees and deuel conjurors.	Caldees and readers of destinies.
Nah.	ii, 3, his archers are not well deckte and trimmed.	and his spere shaftes are soked in venim.

Erasmus was carefully studied for the New Testament, though several of the Erasmian renderings agree with the Vulgate. Thus—

	1639.	1540.
Rom.	i, 25, which is blessed for euer.	which is to be prayse̊d for euer.
	iv, 25, for to justifye vs.	for oure justificacyon.
Gal.	i, 10, Do I nowe speake vnto men or vnto God?—after the Zürich.	Do I now perswade men or God?
Eph.	ii, 12, & had no hope, & were with out God in thys worlde.	hauynge no hope, and beyng with out God in thy worlde.

[1] Num resina non est in Galaad, aut non est medicus ibi? quare igitur non est recuperata sanitas filiæ populi mei?

	1539.	1540.
Phil.	i, 23, to be with Christ is moch better	to be with Christ which is moche & for better.
	29, it is geuen of Christ.	it is geuen for Chryst.
	„ but also suffre.	but also that ye shulde suffre.
1 Tim.	iii, 16, was beleued on erth.	was beleued on in the worlde.
Heb.	xi, 16, God is not ashamed.	God himselfe is not ashamed.
James	i, 13, God cannot tempte vnto euyll because he tempteth no man.	as God can not be tempted with euill, so nether he hymselfe temptethe eny man.
2 Pet.	ii, 14, exercysed with couetousnes.	exercysed with robrie.

In the Apocalypse there are several clauses inserted, as in x, 5 (And the erth and the thynges that therein are); xii, 10, For (the accuser of our brethren) is cast doune; xviii, 23 (and candell lyght shalbe no more burnynge in the): these clauses and readings not being found in the earlier Greek editions of Erasmus nor in the versions of Tyndale and Coverdale, and the translation of them is printed in smaller type. But Erasmus admitted them into his fourth edition of 1527; in fact he inserted ninety emendations of the text of the Apocalypse on the authority of the Complutensian Polyglott. Canon Westcott has brought to light a strange fact, that portions of the editions of November, 1540, and of May, 1541, do not follow that of April, 1540, but that of 1539. It is impossible to guess who suggested this retrogression, or for what reason the first revision was preferred.

There were thus published, within a brief space, seven editions of the Great Bible—Crumwell's in 1539, and Cranmer's in April, July, and November, 1540, and in May, November, and December, 1541. These editions are very similar; the pointing hands are retained in the three first of them, and the † keeps its place in all of them. Five have sixty-two lines in a page, and two—November, 1540 and 1541—have sixty-five. At the beginning of some of the Books, in the volume of April, 1540, are large woodcut initials, which are peculiar to this edition. In the edition of November, 1540, there is only a flourished capital at the beginning of Genesis, and the pages of the New Testament are faulty in numeration. These editions have a strange

misprint in the heading of Genesis xxxix, where it is said of Joseph, "Pharaoh's wife tempteth him." The Books of the Apocrypha are called Hagiographa, and the strange reason is given, "because they were wont to be read, not openly and in common, but as it were in secret and apart." The mistake perhaps arose from a false reading in Jerome's Preface to Tobit and Judith.[1] But Martianay, Vallarsi, and other editors, have shown from manuscript authority that the true reading is Apocrypha, and that this, the proper reading, is in accordance with Jerome's own opinion on the Canon.[2]

Coverdale was in no way partial to his own work, but changed his earlier renderings without hesitation, though sometimes without sufficient reason. Thus, in Isaiah liii, he has made about twenty alterations on the edition of 1539;[3] and in chapter xl of the same book there is on an average a change in each verse, resting, nearly every one of them, on Pagninus and Münster, and about a third of them on Münster alone. In fact, he has made most changes in the part of Matthew's Bible which was his own work, as if he had felt the insecurity of a version which was not taken directly from the original Hebrew. This Great Bible was the Authorized Version for twenty-eight years.[4]

But though it was a double revision of Matthew's of 1537, the Great Bible is not only inferior as a translation, but has interspersed through it a great variety of paraphrastic and supplementary clauses from the Vulgate, some being preserved in the Bishops'. The following examples are taken almost at random, and similar instances may be found on almost every page.

Genesis iv, 8, Cain spake with Abel hys brother [let us go furth].
xxxi, 31, But [whereas ye layest theft to my charge] wyth whome soeuer thou fyndest thy goddes let hym dye.

[1] Apud Hebræos Judith quae inter Hagiographa legitur. Prolog. Gal.

[2] Hieronymi Opera, tom. X, p. 2, ed. Vallarsi, Venet., 1771.

[3] See p. 370.

[4] In the strict sense it is the only authorized version still—for the Bishops' Bible and the present Bible never had the formal sanction of royal authority.

Exodus ii, 22, [And she bare yet another sonne, whome he called Eliezer, sayinge: the God of my father is myne helper, & hath ryd me out of the handes of Pharao] — after Coverdale and Matthew, the authority being some copies of the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other versions. The verse is taken from chapter xviii, 4.

Numb. xiii, 30, Caleb stylled the [murmur that was raysed vp of] the people.

xxii, 33, els yf she had turned from me [geuynge place to me that stode in the waye].

Deut. i, 37, [wonderfull was that indignacyon agayn the people, seyinge that] the Lord was angry with me.

Joshua ii, 11, as we hearde these thynges [we were sore afraied &] our heartes dyd fainte.

iii, 13, the waters of Jordan [that are beneth, shall ronne downe] shall be deuided.

iv, 3, twelve [of the most hardest] stones.

ix, 9, we haue heard ye fame [of the power] of him.

xxii, 25, Therfore we [toke better aduisement and] sayd.

Judges ix, 49, so that [with smoke and fyre] all the men of the tower of Sichem were slayne.

2 Samuel i, 18, [And he sayde: Consyder O Israel, these that be deed and wounded upon the hye hilles.]

vi. 12, [And there were with David seven sorts of dancers and calves for sacrifice.]

xiv, 30, [and Joabs servauntes came with their garments rent, and sayde, Absaloms servauntes have burnte the piece of land with fyre.]

iv, 8, corn and wine [and oyle].

xi, 25, For [the chaunce of warre is dyuerse and] the sworde deuoureth one as well as another.

2 Kings v, 17, And Naaman sayd [Euen as thou wylt, but I beseche thee].[1]

[1] There is a peculiar addition or mistranslation in 2 Chron. xxxvi, 8— "the carved images that were laid to his charge," after Matthew, Münster having "sculptæ impressiones." To the clause, "that which was found upon him," the Bishops' adds a note: "marks of idolatrie found printed in his bodie when he was dead."

Job xiv, 6, he maye rest [a lytle] vntyll hys daye come.
Psalm vii, 11, God is a righteous judge [strong and pacient].
xiii, 6, [yee I wyll prayse the name of the Lord, the most hyest.]
xiv, 5, a great fear [even where no fear was].
xxix, Syng unto the Lorde, O ye mightie [brynge younge rammes unto the Lorde] ascrybe unto the Lorde worshippe and strengthe.
xxxix, 11, like as it were a mothre [putting a garment].
lxviii, 1, unto thee vow be performed [in Hierusalem].
lxviii, 4, to hym that rydeth upon the heavens [as it were upon a horse.]
cxi, [Prayse the Lorde for the returnyng agayne of Aggeus and Zachary the prophetes.]
cxxxii, 4, nor myne eye lyddes to slomber [nether the temples of my heade to take anye rest].
cxxxvi, 26, [O give thankes unto the Lord of Lordes, for hys mercie endureth for ever.]

There are more than seventy such additions in the Book of Psalms.

Prov. iii, 9, [give unto the poor.] At the end of chap. v are two long verses.
v, 2, [apply not thyself to the deceitfulness of a woman.]
vi, 11, [But if thou be not slowthful, thy harvest shall come as a spryngynge well, and poverty shall flye farre from thee.]
x, 4, [whoso regardeth leasynges fedeth the wynde, and doth but followe byrdes that have taken their flyght.]

All these accretions are from the Vulgate, and they are found in both the earlier Wycliffite versions.

Isaiah xl, 1, Comforte my people [O ye prophetes].
Luke x, 21, That same houre reioyced Jesus in [the holy] ghoste.
xvi, 21, [and no man gave unto him.]
xvii, 36, [Two in the felde, the one shall be receaved and the other forsaken.]
xxiv. 36, Peace be vnto you. [It is I, feare not.]

John vi, 41, I am the bread [of lyfe].
Acts v, 15, that the shadowe of Peter myght shadowe some of them [and that they myght all be delyuered from their infirmytyes].
xiv, 7, [& all the multitude was moued at their doctryne, but Paul and Barnabas taryed styll at Lystra.]
xviii, 4, [settynge forth in the mean while the name of the Lorde Jesus.]
Romans v, 2, the glory [of the chyldren] of God.
1 Cor. xvi, 19, [with whom also I am lodged.]
Gal. v, 13, but by loue [of the sprete] serue one another.
Phil. iv. 8, yf there be eny prase [of lernynge].
1 John ii, 22, [he that knowelageth the Sonne hath the Father also]; but the clause is now accepted as genuine on preponderant authority.

The titles of the Psalms are sometimes expanded after the Vulgate. At Ps. xxiv the inscription is "in the first day of the sabbath," and at Ps. xlviii, "in the second daye of oure sabbathe"; but the Vulgate is not followed at Ps. xxxvii. Ps. xxvi is inscribed "a Psalm of David [afore he was embalmed]," and Ps. xxix has "a Psalm of David at the perfourmynge of the Tabernacle." At Ps. xvi, and in other places, Michtam is "the badge or armes of David." Maschil is "instructyon in the chauntes or melodyes." The Chief Musician becomes the Chaunter, or "to him that excelleth in songs of musick, or on Gittith, &c.," or "to him that excelleth among the lylies," Ps. xlv. The poor cut prefixed to the Book of Psalms [1540] represents Bathsheba bathing in nudity, and David, with his crown on his head, intently gazing down upon her from an opposite window. The Psalms in the Book of Common Prayer are from the Great Bible, and they were retained in 1662, when the Epistles and Gospel were taken from the Authorized Version of 1611, for "the choirs were accustomed to the old Psalter, and its language was considered more smooth and fit for song."[1]

[1] Proctor's History, p, 216. Mr. Proctor speaks in the same paragraph "of the version of Tyndale and Coverdale, 1535," there being no such Bible; and of "Cranmer's version of 1539," but his Bible did not appear till 1540. Many in the nation were thankful for the Bible,

The seven years—from 1534 to 1541—that intervened between the published translation of Tyndale, the volume of Matthew, and the issues and revisions of Coverdale, as well as the six following years, that ended with Henry's death, form an eventful period in the history of the English Bible. It came into national circulation during a time of stormy transition,[1] and was hailed by many as the bow in the cloud. After the earlier and more promising part of Henry's life had been passed, he was swayed alternately by opposite influences. The wars of the Roses had left suspicions and hatreds in his mind, and his throne was not surrounded by royal children, some one of whom might take the sceptre without challenge. The harder elements of his nature had been intensified by the circumstances of his reign, the separation from the Pope, the long battle of the divorce, with its "traverses and tossings," and the antagonistic views and feelings battling among his subjects,

and grateful to the king for his sanction of it. Thus Becon, in his "News from Heaven," 1451, "The most sacred and holy Bible—thanks be to God which hath brought these things to pass by his dearly beloved servant our king, Henry VIII . . . whose grace's highness I most beseech Almighty God to beautify with the benefit of perpetual health." And again, in his "Christmas Banquet, 1542," "This supply of Bibles hath God unfeignedly brought to pass by his well-beloved servant and our king, Henry VIII." But many were careless about the royal gift; "for a man may come into a church, and see the Bible so enclosed and wrapped about with dust, that with his finger he may write upon it this epitaph—Ecce nunc in pulvere dormio." Works, vol. I, p. 38, Parker Soc. ed.

[1] There were suppressed, at different times, six hundred and forty-five monasteries, ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chauntries, and one hundred and ten hospitals—their revenues, amounting to £161,100—an immense sum in present currency. Bishop Fisher himself had, in 1521, suppressed a house in his own diocese to endow New College, Oxford. College endowments taken from dissolved houses were given at an earlier period—by Bishop Wainflete to Magdalene College, and Wolsey to Cardinal College, Oxford. Bishop Alcock in the same way enriched Jesus College, Cambridge; and Bishop Smith gave the revenues of Cold Norton to Brasenose; and All Souls, Oxford, was thus supported by Chichele. During the three centuries between the Conquest and the accession of Richard II, twelve hundred religious houses had been founded in England.

the majority of whom clung to the creed, though they had renounced the jurisdiction, of Rome. The laws passéd at this period indicate strange oscillations. The "Act of the Six Articles," or the "Bloody Statute," which calls itself an "Act for abolishing diversity of opinion," was, with its sanguinary penalties, a measure befriending Popery; but another Act was also passed, vesting the property of the dissolved monasteries in the crown, the king promising to set up and endow thirteen additional bishoprics. The parliament which passed the "Act of the Six Articles" was no sooner prorogued than a proclamation was issued, forbidding, on the one hand, the application of such names as papists and heretics; but, on the other hand, declaring "that the king was pleased and contented that such as could read might read the Scriptures in the English tongue, at all times and places convenient, for their own instruction and edification, and increase thereby godliness and virtuous learning, and to bring them from their old ignorance and blindness." While the public pulse was in this way beating wildly, both in assault and defence, society was appalled by scenes of "judgment without mercy"; men held their breath at the demolition of the monasteries, and the scandals brought to light in connection with many of them—such imposture as the hidden machinery that moved the Rood of Boxley. Charges of treason filled the air, and the scaffold at Tower Hill did not want victims. Bishop Fisher, who had been Lady Margaret's first Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, fell in 1534, and Sir Thomas More in 1535. The axe may be said to have been suspended in front of the royal closet, and even of the royal bridal chamber. The mighty were smitten down without remorse; no offending head was spared for its crown or its coronet. Two queens perished—one on the 19th May, 1536, and the other six years afterwards, on the 12th February, 1542. The aged "Lady of Sarum," the last of the Plantagenets, laid her grey hairs upon the block on the 27th of May, 1541. To-day the sky might be clear, but to-morrow it was darkened with thunder clouds. Familiars and councillors high in favour were helpless when the storm burst; and the hand that gave Crumwell the

patent[1] to authorize the printing of the Scriptures, signed, almost at the same moment, the death warrants of the Abbots of Reading and Glastonbury—the second of whom, an old man of fourscore, was hanged on the summit of the Torre.

For several years—indeed as far back as 1537—the reading of the Bible had been accompanied by scenes of irregularity sometimes approaching to riot. Such ebullitions of feeling were natural in the circumstances, but might have been kept under some measure of restraint. On the one side there was revelling in the new liberty, and on the other side there were dismay and indignation at the novel and formidable privilege gloried in by the people. Conflict was inevitable; the Catholic party frowned defiance, and men with the Bible in their hands scowled back with undue exultation. The fresh words of Froude narrate some of these scenes.[2]

"A circle of Protestants at Wincanton, in Somersetshire, wrote to Cromwell complaining of the curate, who would not teach them or preach to them, but 'gave his time and attention to dicing, carding,' bowling, and the cross waster.' In their desire for spiritual food they applied to the rector of the next parish, who had come occasionally and given them a sermon, and had taught them to read the New Testament; when suddenly, on Good Friday, 'the unthrifty curate entered the pulpit, where he had set no foot for years,' and 'admonished his parishioners to give no credence to the new-fangled fellows which read the new books.' 'They be like knaves and Pharisees,' he said; 'they be like a dog that gnaweth a marry-bone, and never cometh to the pith, therefore avoid their company; and if any man will preach the New Testament, if I may hear him, I am ready to fight with him incontinent'; and 'indeed,' the petitioners said, 'he applyeth in such wise his school of fence so sore continually, that he feareth all his parishioners.'

"So the parish clerk at Hastings made a speech to the congregation on the faults of the translation. 'It taught heresy,' he said; 'it taught that a priest might have a wife by God's

[1] 26 Henry VIII, cap. 1, 13.

[2] Froude's History of England, vol. III, pp. 240-243.

law. He trusted to see the day that the book called the Bible, and all its maintainers and upholders, should be brent.'

"Here, again, is a complaint from the parishioners of Langham, in Essex, against their village potentate, a person named Vigors, who with the priest oppressed and ill-used them.

"Upon Ascension day last past did two maidens sit in their pew or stool in the church, as all honest and virtuous persons used to do in matins time, saying their matins together upon an English primer. Vigors this seeing was sore angry, in so much that therefore, and for nothing else, he did bid the maidens to avoid out of the church, (calling them) errant whores, with such other odious and spiteful words. And further, upon a time within this year, one of Vigors's servants did quarrel and brawl with other children many, whom he called heretics; and as children be light and wanton, they called the said servant again Pharisee. Upon this complained Robert Smyth of our town to Vigors, saying that it was against reason that the great fellow his servant should quarrel with children. Whereupon Vigors said to his servant, 'See that thou do cut off their ears, oh errant whoreson, if they so call thee hereafter; and if thou lack a knife, I shall give thee one to do it. And if thou wilt not thus do, thou shalt no longer serve me.'

"On the other hand, the Protestants gave themselves no pains to make their heterodoxy decent, or to spare the feelings of their antagonists. To call 'a spade a spade,' and a rogue a rogue, were Protestant axioms. Their favourite weapons were mystery plays, which they acted up and down the country in barns, in taverns, in chambers, on occasion, before the vicar-general himself; and the language of these, as well as the language of their own daily life, seemed constructed as if to pour scorn on the old belief. Men engaged in a mortal strife usually speak plainly. Blunt words strike home; and the euphuism which, in more ingenious ages, discovers that men mean the same thing when they say opposite things was as yet unknown or unappreciated."

These scenes were to be witnessed in various parts of the country, and they afforded to watchful enemies a tempting

opportunity to show their hostility, under pretence of guarding law, loyalty, faith, and decency of worship. Before the Act of the Six Articles was passed, the king, speaking as the head of the Church, issued a proclamation on Bible reading, which contains many excellent advices, though they are given in autocratic spirit. Some persons are accused of attempting to "bring back his subjects to the old devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; others of wresting Scripture, and untruly alleging the same, to the subversion of law and the authority of magistrates;[1] some of them also using the Scripture permitted to them by the Kings goodnes in the English tongue, * *at such times and places, and after* * [much contrary to his Highnes expectation: for his Majesties intent and hope was, that they that would read the Scripture, would, with meeknes and wil to accomplish the effect of it, read it, and not to maintain erroneous opinions, and preach [them,] nor for to use the reading and preaching of it in undue time and places, and after] such fashions and sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered. And thus each of them dispute so arrogantly against the other of their opinions, as wel in churches, ale-houses, tavernes, and other places and congregations, that there is begun and sprung among themselves slander and rayling each at other, as wel by words as writing; one part of them calling the other *Papist*, and the other part calling the other *heretic*: wherby is like to follow * *sedition* * [dissension] and tumult, * *to their own destruction,* * [not only to their own confusions, that teach and use the same, but also to the disturbance, and liklihood to destruction of al the rest of the Kings true and welbeloved subjects,] if his Majesty, like a godly and Catholick Prince, of his excellent goodnes, by his princely power and authority given him by God, should not politicly, in the beginning, provide for the same.

"For remedy wherof his most royal Majesty, by his most excellent wisdome, knowing and considering his kingly office

[1] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 434-437. The king himself corrected this document. The word or clauses begun and followed by an asterisk were erased by his majesty, and those within brackets inserted by him in their place.

and charge touching the premisses, and daily painfully studying and devising, with a most noble and earnest heart, to reduce his people committed by God to his care, to unity of opinion, and to encrease love and charity among themselves, and constantly to conserve them in the same, intendeth, God willing, by advice of his Prelates and Clergy, and other of his Council, to procede to a ful order and resolution to extinct al such diversities of opinions by * *terrible* * [good and just] laws to be made for the same, by authority of his Parliament. . . . And over this, his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person, except such as be curates, or graduates in any of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or such as be or shal be admitted to preach by the Kings licence, or by his Vicegerent, or by any Bishop of the realm, shal teach or preach the Bible, or New Testament, nor expound the mysteries therof to any other; nor that any person or persons shall openly read the Bible or New Testament in the English tongue in any churches or chappels, [or elsewhere] with any loud or high voice; [and especially] during the time of divine service, or of celebrating and saying of masses: but virtually and devoutly to hear their divine services and masses, and use that time in reading and praying with peace and stilnes, as good Christen men use to do [for his own erudition] upon the like pains, as is afore rehersed. * *And also* * [notwithstanding] his Highnes is pleased and contented, that such as can [and wil] in the English tongue, shal and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves [secretly] at al times and places convenient for their own instruction and edification, to encrease therby godliness and vertuous learning. . . . . Wherfore his Majesty chargeth and commandeth al his said subjects to use the H. Scripture in English, according to his godly purpose and gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displesure and indignation, beside the pain above remembred."

It is the Dean of Chichester who says that at this period "the demand for an English Bible was the political or radical cry of the age"; and certainly ecclesiastics dreaded above all an English Bible in open circulation, as if God's Book was

not the foundation and charter of God's Church. The Dean asserts also, without reserve, that "when Henry wished to intimidate the clergy, he threatened them with an authorized version," and "when he would win their favour he proscribed it."[1]

The Act of Supremacy, passed in 1534,[2] and the Act of the Six Articles, carried through by Lord Chancellor Audley in 1539[3] wrought like a double net with many fatal meshes, so that reformers and Catholics were entangled side by side, and perished at the same time—the first burned for heresy, and the second hanged for treason. If men shrank from the one danger, they were caught in the recoil by the other. As if to manifest the equality of the procedure, the victims were sometimes dragged on hurdles, two and two, a Papist and a Protestant, the Catholics asserting that this "unequal matching was worse than death itself."[4] The statute was interpreted by "branches of inference"—so that rare attendance at mass was equivalent to speaking against it, slowness in lifting the hands "in sacring time," and gentle striking of the breast at confession, were sufficient to bring a worshipper within sweep of the law. Reading of Scripture was especially regarded as very suspicious; and in a fortnight five hundred persons were indicted in London alone. As years passed on, it was supposed that heresy might bleed to death under the ruthless hands of an English inquisition. Latimer and Shaxton were sent to prison, and were obliged to give up their dioceses. Barnes, who had been prior of the Augustinian convent at Cambridge, and the spiritual father of Coverdale, was burned at Smithfield on the 30th July, 1540,[5] along with Jerome, and with Garrett

[1] Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Second Series, vol. I, p. 334, &c.

[2] 26 Henry VIII, cap. 7 and 13.

[3] 31 Henry VIII, cap. 14.

[4] *Ipsa morte gravius et intolerabilius.* Fuller's Church History, vol. II, p. 105,

[5] Barnes, by creating an impression that he had been drowned, had escaped and fled to the Continent, but after he returned, in 1540, he had again indulged in personal raillery from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cross, and played upon the name of Bishop Gardyner as a "garden cock that lacked good spurs." But he soon found that the episcopal spurs were long enough and sharp enough, for he was at once arrested, and sentenced to the fire. (See page 256.)

who had taken an early and energetic part in the circulation of Tyndale's Testaments—all three having been attainted; and at the same time three priests Abel, Featherstone, and Powell, were executed with them as traitors. Between the publication of the third and fourth editions of the Great Bible, Crumwell himself, the Vicar-general and Vicegerent, the patron and promoter of Biblical translations, was beheaded. His influence for eight years had been paramount at Court, and in Parliament and Convocation: and he had possessed his earldom but one hundred days when he was attainted without scruple, and swiftly sent to death. His arms—found in the first three editions, 1539, April and July, 1540—are erased in the four last. In these earlier ones Cranmer and Crumwell are pictured each with his shield below him, but after the Vicegerent's death his figure stands alone; the heraldry was carefully erased, and the circular space is a blank.[1] Crumwell's rise had been rapid and steady, but his fall was sudden. The orphan boy of a tradesman, he was a man of rare and resolute ability, and was at one time in the service of Wolsey. He was knighted in 1531, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1532, Secretary of State in 1534, Vicegerent in 1535, a Baron and Master of the Rolls in 1536, the Garter and the Deanery of Wells were given him in 1537. He rose to be Great Chamberlain, and was created Earl of Essex on the 17th of April, 1540; and he was beheaded on the 28th of July. The Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rebels, during "the Pilgrimage of grace," had prayed that, as he was of "villein's" blood, he should be removed from the council; but the king bluntly told them they "were but brutes" and inexperts, and could not judge in such matters. His garter gave great offence to the old nobility. He had tried to entrap Gardyner under the Act of Supremacy; but the bishop easily eluded the danger. Crumwell suffered under a law which himself had carried through the year before—to wit, that a person named in a bill of attainder might be condemned without trial. His connection with heretical books and men was a strong charge against him. The edition of November, 1540,

[1] See p. 362.

with the melancholy memento of Crumwell's fallen greatness, is the first bearing the names of Tunstall and Heath. Among the many surprises of the period, the occurrence of these names in such a connection is not the least; for Tunstall had been the Bible burner—the same "My Lord of London" into whose house Tyndale vainly asked admission, and who afterwards gathered and gave to the flames so many copies of his translation. Crumwell had been executed, and lest the Bible in which he had taken such an interest might draw suspicion upon itself, and sink in popular esteem, episcopal revision and authority are set in prominence, by royal command, on the front of two editions. The title-page bears the declaration, "Oversene and perused at the commandment of the Kynges Highnes, by the ryghte reverende fathers in God, Cuthbert, Bishop of Duresme, and Nicolas, Bishop of Rochester." The full title of the editions of November, 1540 and 1541, is—

"The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted Prynce, and soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henry the VIII, supreme heade of this his Churche and Realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in euery churche within this his sayd realme accordynge to the tenour of his former iniunctions given in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundmente of the Kynges Hyghnes, by the ryght reverende fathers in God, Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." Colophon: "The ende of the newe Testamente and of the whole Byble. Fynyshed in November, Anno MCCCCCXL. A domino factum est istud." Of course the other edition has MCCCCCXLI.

The Act of 1538 had commanded that all published books of Scripture should have the sanction of the king, a privy councillor, or a bishop. These two bishops had certainly no heart to the work, and the belief was that they had not revised the version as they professed. But they durst not thwart the king, and they gave their names to a virtual imposture, so far as the title-page is concerned.

Tunstall, one of the episcopal editors of the Great Bible,

was a scholar of eminence. When Pole, in a letter to the king, wished him to allow Tunstall to read his book De Unitate, he calls the bishop "a sad and learned man"; and More, in the Utopia, styles him "a man doubtless out of comparison," and in his Epitaph he describes him as so "excelling in learning, wit, and virtue, that the whole world scant hath at this day any more learned, wiser, or better." Tunstall was a pupil of Grocyn, but he could have had no great leisure for study after he entered public life, for, with rapid promotion in the church, he filled a succession of public or civil offices—Vicar-General to Warham in 1508, Master of the Rolls in 1516, Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1523, besides being Ambassador to the Archduke Charles, to Charles V in 1516, at Worms in 1519, to Francis I in 1527-29, and, with More, at Cambray in 1529. He became Bishop of London in 1522, was translated to Durham in 1530, was finally deprived in 1559, and committed, at the age of eighty-four, to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had permitted no persecution in his diocese of Durham, and, according to Strype, he was before his death, by the Archbishop's kindness and conversation, "brought off from papistical errors." He had been godfather to Elizabeth when he baptized her at Greenwich in 1533; and on the coronation of Mary he stood at the queen's right hand.

Some years afterwards, or in 1546, there was published "The Supplication of the Poor Commons to the King," and the story there stated is not beyond the bounds of belief. "We heard say that they proffered your Highness, that if you would please to call in the Bible again, forasmuch as it was not faithfully translated in all parts, they would oversee it, and within seven years set it forth again. Your bishops, most victorious Prince, if they might have gotten in the Bible for seven years, would have trusted that, by that time, either your Highness should have been dead, or the Bible forgotten: or they themselves out of your Highness' reach; so that you should not have like power over them as you have now. . . . When your Majesty appointed two of them (Tunstall and Heath) to overlook the translation of the Bible, they said they had done your Highness' commandment therein: yea, they set their names there-

unto: but when they saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other side, they denied it, and said they never meddled therewith, causing the printer to take out their names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certify to all men that they had diligently perused it, according as your Highness had commanded."[1]

Grafton had risked five hundred pounds in the first edition of 1539, and in the six subsequent editions no small amount of capital must have been embarked—probably towards fifty thousand pounds sterling of present value. The expense of these last editions was defrayed, wholly or partially, by Anthony Marler, a haberdasher in London, who also presented to his Majesty a magnificent copy on vellum, with an inscription. This Bible is still preserved in the British Museum. The minutes of the Privy Council are significant. "Greenwich, 25th April; it was agreed that Anthony Marler of London, merchant, might sell the Bibles of the Great Bible unbound for x*s.* sterling, and bound, being trimmed with bullyons, for xii*s.* sterling"—the first being equal to about £7, and the second to £9 of present value. But copies were lying on his hands, and he might be "undone for ever," as he complains. The best way, therefore, to reimburse the petitioner was to help the volumes off his hands; and a proclamation was issued on the 7th of May, 1540, which ordered all churches to provide themselves with a Bible of the largest volume, and another on the 6th of May, 1541, went fully into the subject:[2]

". . . . The which godly commandment and injunction was to the only intent that every of the King's Majesty's loving subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable omnipotent power, promise, justice, mercy, and goodness of Almighty God; but also to learn thereby to observe God's commandments, and to obey their Sovereign Lord, and high powers, and to exercise godly charity, and to use themselves according to their vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian life, without murmur or grudging: By the which injunctions,

[1] Strype, vol. I, pt. i, p. 612. [2] Burnet, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 377.

the King's Royal Majesty intended that his loving subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud voices, in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the Church; or that any his lay subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained; but that every such layman should, humbly, meekly, and reverently read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his life, according to God's holy word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the King's said most godly and gracious commandment and injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his Royal Majesty is informed that divers and many towns and parishes within this his realm, have neglected their duties in the accomplishment thereof, whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious injunctions, doth straitly charge and command that the curats and parishioners of every town and parish within this his realm of England, not having already Bibles provided within their parish churches, shall, on this side the Feast of All-Saints next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every one of the said parish churches, there to be used as is aforesaid, according to the said former injunctions, upon pain that the curat and inhabitants of the parishes and towns, shall lose and forfeit to the King's Majesty, for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the same feast of All-Saints, 40s., the one half of the same forfeit to be to the King's Majesty, and the other half to him or them which shall first find and present the same to the King's Majesties Council. And finally, the King's Royal Majesty doth declare and signify to all and singular his loving subjects, that to the intent they may have the said Bibles of the greatest volume, at equal and reasonable prices, his Highness, by the advice of his Council, hath ordained and taxed that the sellers thereof shall not

take for any of the said Bibles unbound, above the price of ten shillings; and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently bound, trimmed and clasped, not above twelve shillings, upon pain the seller to lose, for every Bible sold contrary to his Highness's proclamation, four shillings; the one moiety thereof to the King's Majesty, and the other moiety to the finder and presenter of the defaulter, as is aforesaid. . . . .

"*God save the KING.*"

The price was fixed at the terms suggested by Marler. The measure was a strange one, and the language of the proclamation sounds very oddly when the subject is the Word of God. The fixing down of the price of copies, the stepping in of the law between buyer and seller, and the employment of informers, were in accordance with the false notions of political economy current at that epoch. If a man were fined for not having bought a Bible, he was not likely to regard the volume with special affection. Another plan to secure a wide circulation was apparently not thought of—namely, to print the book in smaller and cheaper form.

The title-page of the last volume of this series of the Great Bible, December, 1541, by its distinct declaration of being the authorized Bible, as in the edition of April, 1540, and by its translation of the Latin motto, seems to glance back at the two editions "overseen" by Tunstall and Heath—,

"The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scrypture both of the olde and newe testament, with a prologe thereinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archebisshop of Cantorbury. ¶ This is the Byble appoynted to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum An. do. MDXL." The colophon is—"The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Bible, Finysshed in December MCCCCCXLI. † A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes Doynge." The pointing hands disappeared after Cromwell's death.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE circulation of the Bible by royal command went on with increased speed, and even Edmund Bonner, in his unaccountable zeal, and as he had promised to Grafton in Paris, commanded his archdeacon by letter, on the 11th of May, 1542, to execute the royal mandate, and issued this Injunction:—

"By the authority given to me of God, and by our said Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, I exhort, require, and command, that every parson, vicar, and curat, shall read over and diligently study every day one chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloss ordinary, or some other doctor or expositor, approved and allowed in this Church of England, proceeding from chapter to chapter, from the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, to the end of the New Testament; and the same so diligently studied to keep still and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearsal and recital thereof, at all such time and times as they, or any of them, shall be commanded thereunto by me, or any of my officers or deputies." [1]

Bishop Bonner also set up six Bibles in St. Paul's.[2] Latimer ordered a copy to be chained in the monastery of Worcester, and Hooper directed every church to have a Bible, and the

[1] Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 381.

[2] Many readers may have seen Sir George Harvey's picture "The Reading of the Bible in old St. Paul's." The person figured as reading to an eager group around him represents John Porter, "a fresh young man, and of a big stature, who could read well, and had an audible voice." Bonner and his chaplains rebuked him; but he quietly replied to the bishop that he had done nothing "contrary to his advertisements which had been fixed in print over every Bible." He was then sent to Newgate, and tortured so terribly that he soon died in his dungeon. Foxe, vol. V, p. 452.

early opponent of Erasmus, Lee, now Archbishop of York, ordered all curates to provide a Bible within forty days, and have it chained in some open place in the Church. But abuses crept in; people read mostly during service and sermon, and Bonner, "for the said abuses," threatened "to take down the said Bibles." In September of the same year, in imitation of Cromwell's address on the same subject in 1538, and of the king's in the previous year, he issued an admonition to all readers of the Bible in the English tongue, to bring with them "discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, that there should be no such number meet together there as to make a multitude; that no such exposition be made therefrom but what is declared in the book itself; that it be not read with noise in time of divine service; and that no disputation or contention be used at it."

After the death of Cromwell, who was so cordially detested by the Catholic leaders and partizans, the enemies of the English Scripture raised their heads. The text had been authorized, but the "Notes" had not been appended. Yet, according to Foxe, Grafton, on being called before the authorities, and questioned strictly about the proposed annotations, was sent to prison for six weeks, and bound over in £300 to sell or print no more Bibles.

The Great Bible of December, 1541, was therefore the last edition printed in the reign of Henry, for a reaction had set in, and the royal mind was sinking into indifference, if not into hostility, to the English Scriptures.

There had thus been for some years a supply of English Scriptures in the country, but the result had not been satisfactory to the Catholic interest. Papal authority had been more and more undermined, theological questions were freely discussed, and in the light of the Bible many Catholic doctrines and practices were condemned, and ceased to command faith and obedience on the part of hundreds who were secretly or more openly nonconformists. The Book was in wide circulation, and it could not now be suppressed or gathered into bundles and burned. The name of Tyndale was odious to all papal adherents; and he had "suf-

fered trouble as an evildoer, even unto bonds" and death; Coverdale was little less obnoxious, for he had been patronized by Crumwell, whose overthrow and death had been chiefly compassed by Bishop Gardyner and the faction that clung to him as their life and their leader; and Thomas Matthew or John Rogers was also well known for his sturdy and courageous character, so that all the Scriptures in use were tainted in their source and authorship, and could not be forgiven by bigoted, or accepted by conscientious, vassals of the Romish Church, and they at this time formed a majority of the people. But if the English Bible could not be withheld, as it had enjoyed royal license, it might be transformed and so modified as to serve the aims of ecclesiastical intolerance. If it could not be rudely plucked out of the people's hand, it might be taught to utter an uncertain sound, or it might be so vailed in its renderings as to be brought into unison with the traditions and service of the Church. The purpose formed, in these circumstances, by the more astute members of the hierarchy was to produce a volume of their own, which should have no heretical pravity about it, but should so commend itself to the nation as perhaps to win many back to the old paths, and thrust out its predecessors by its superior popularity, and the priestly authority which should sanction and hallow it. The familiar Latin version consecrated by long use was to be the one means of correction; and the omission of any reference to the Greek text throws a direct light on the motives of the contrivers of this reactionary enterprise. The motion of Gardyner is self-explanatory. The sacerdotal authorities hoped to mould the English Bible into ecclesiastical form, and to deprave its popular English speech with Latin terms unintelligible save to the educated.

The plot was ripe when Convocation met in the early part of 1542. Proposals were made, in the king's name, for a new translation. Cranmer obeyed the royal order, though he had seen the good work already fall through the Bishops' hands, who had not only no heart to it, but were ready to mar and impede it. It was decided in the Upper House that the Great Bible should be revised "according to that Bible which is usually

read in the English Church," that is, the Vulgate. There were some honest minds among the party, and how did they hope to effect a thorough revision by the mere aid of the Latin version? But the scheme was agreed to, and the work was thus apportioned, the New Testament being given to the Bishops, and the Old Testament to members of the Lower House. Fuller copied from the Records of the Convocation (since destroyed) the order of distribution, which was as follows:—St. Matthew — Archbishop Cranmer; St. Mark — Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; St. Luke—Gardyner, Bishop of Winchester; St. John—Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Acts of Apostles—Heath, Bishop of Rochester; Romans—Sampson, Bishop of Chichester; 1 and 2 Corinthians—Capon, Bishop of Sarum; Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians — Barlow, Bishop of St. David's; 1 and 2 Thessalonians—Bell, Bishop of Worcester; 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon—Parfew, Bishop of St. Asaph; 1 and 2 Peter—Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff; Hebrews —Skyp, Bishop of Hereford; St. James, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude—Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster; Revelation—Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester, and Chambers, Bishop of Peterboro'. The name of Tunstall does not appear on the list.

On February 13th, the Lower House sent up to the Archbishop and Bishops a list of places which in their opinion needed emendation, and Convocation then appointed joint-committees to consult as to the best means and method of revising the entire Scriptures. The Old Testament committee consisted of Lee, Archbishop of York; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Redmayne, afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; Heynes, afterwards Dean of Exeter; Robertson, afterwards Dean of Durham; Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely; and others. The New Testament committee consisted of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; Gardyner, Bishop of Winchester; Skyp, Bishop of Hereford; Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster;[1] Dr. Wotton,

[1] On the dissolution of the religious houses, in 1539, in an Act drawn by his own hand, and passed, the king took power to erect new bishoprics. Twenty-one were intended, but six only were founded and endowed out of the rich spoils. The abbey and monastery of St. Peter was dissolved

afterwards Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Day, afterwards Bishop of Chichester; Dr. Coren, Archdeacon of Oxford; Dr. Wilson; Dr. Leighton; Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's; and others.

At the sixth meeting Gardyner handed in a list of about ninety-nine Latin words which should be retained in their original form, "for their genuine and native meaning, and for the majesty of the matter in them contained," or "be fitly Englished with the least alteration." The strange list is as follows:—"Ecclesia, Pœnitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Holocausta, Justitia, Justificare, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Dignus, Sandalium, Simplex, Tetrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulacrum, Gloria, Conflictationes, Ceremonia, Mysterium, Religio, Spiritus Sanctus, Spiritus, Merces, Confiteor Tibi Pater, Panis propositionis, Communio, Perseverare, Dilectus, Sapientia, Pietas, Presbyter, Lites, Servus, Opera, Sacrificium, Benedictio, Humilis, Humilitas, Scientia, Gentilis, Synagoga, Ejicere, Misericordia, Complacui, Increpare, Distribueretur orbis, Inculpatus, Senior, Apocalypsis, Satisfactio, Contentio, Conscientia, Peccatum, Peccator, Idolum, Prudentia, Parabola, Magnifico, Oriens, Subditus, Didrachma, Hospitalitas, Episcopus, Gratia, Charitas, Tyrannus, Concupiscentia, Cisera, Apostolus, Apostolatus, Egenus, Stater, Societas, Zizania, Christus, Conversari, Profiteor, Impositio manuum, Idolatria, Inenarrabilis, Infidelis, Paganus, Commilito, Virtutes, Dominationes, Throni, Potestates, Hostia."[1] The adoption of Gardyner's[2] suggestion would have sadly marred the revision, and

in January, 1540, and the abbot became a dean; twelve prebendaries succeeded the monks, and Thirlby was consecrated on the 15th December, 1540, the first bishop, with a diocese including the whole of Middlesex except Fulham. Queen Mary upset all this arrangement; the monks were restored, and Feckenham was the last mitred abbot of England. Memorials of Westminster Abbey, by Dean Stanley, p. 450. London, 1868.

[1] Fuller's Church History, vol. II, p. 108.

[2] Gardyner, notwithstanding his domineering dispute with Cheke on Greek pronunciation, was no mean scholar. At college, in Cambridge, he joined the party of the "Ciceronians"; and as Chancellor of the University he lent his influence to

made it as incongruous and un-English as the Rhemish version. Gardyner could not have selected his words at random, though some of them, "fitly Englished," were already in the Great Bible, and many of them are no longer novelties in the language, as justice, justify, elements, baptize, mystery, adore, glory, spirit, apostle, confession, prudence, gentile, humility, communion, perseverance, synagogue, grace, charity. Other words have no special meaning attached to them, as idiota, ancilla, egenus, humilis, ejicere, oriens, which, if they had been preserved, would have disfigured any translation. But the indifferent words were probably only a cover for the more distinctive ecclesiastical terms. The project was, without doubt, the fruit of Gardyner's ingenuity, but he outwitted himself. Cranmer at once saw through the scheme, and after consulting with the king, on Friday, 10th March, he announced it to be the royal "will and pleasure" that the translation should be examined by both universities. The bishops, with the exception of Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow of St. Davids, vehemently protested that learning had decayed at the universities, and that all things were carried by "young men, the regent's masters," so that the "learning of the land was chiefly in the Convocation"; but Cranmer "stuck close" to the king's resolution. The conspiracy was in this way easily baffled, and no further attempt was made to papalize the Authorized Version, and put a foreign mask on its honest every man's English. Convocation was not again troubled with the subject, and the Universities put no hand to the work. Yet on Sunday, the 12th of the month before Convocation broke up, a royal proclamation was issued, giving to Marler, "himself or his assigns," for four years, the "sole right to print the Bible in our English tongue," and sternly prohibiting all interference on the part of "subjects or strangers" with the monopoly.[1] As the project of the bishops to get a new version might, if carried out, have injured Marler's interests, and neutralized all previous proclamations, the king, therefore,

the introduction of new studies, in opposition to Aristotle and the Schoolmen. He became Master of Trinity Hall in 1520, and Bishop of Winchester in 1531.

[1] Patent Rolls, 33 Henry VIII.

in sharp and imperative terms, forbade such a result. The proclamation implies perhaps that the king and Cranmer were aware of, or suspected greatly, more in the episcopal movement than has come to light. But Marler did not print or publish any more folio Bibles; indeed no others were printed in Henry's reign, though it lasted four years longer.

The portion of the nation that could read had now been furnished with the Divine Word in their "maternal tongue." During the last five years there had been issued at least twelve editions of the entire Bible—ten in folio and two in quarto—each impression probably averaging 1,500 copies. Thousands of copies of the New Testament, from 1526 and onwards, were also in use through the country. Becon, who had heard Latimer proving in his sermon delivered at Cambridge, in 1526, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all Christian people, was now enabled, sixteen years after, to record "there is no realm throughout Christendom that hath so many urgent, weighty, and necessary causes to give thanks unto God as we Englishmen have at this present. . . . The most sacred Bible is freely permitted to be read of every man in the English tongue. . . . Many savour Christ aright, and daily the number increaseth."[1] Still there must have been a great disproportion between all this free circulation of expensive Bibles and the masses of the people—"What were these among so many?"

But the reaction indicated in Gardyner's proposal grew more powerful, and the king was brought more fully under perverse influences,[2] wielded by some of the adherents of the old religious party which had sullenly bowed to the separation from Rome, but was still in heart thoroughly opposed to the open circulation of the Word of God, and really terrified by it. The circulation of Scripture could not now be easily fettered; but the reading of it might be placed under legal re-

[1] Early Works, p. 180, &c., Parker Society ed.

[2] The common phrase that the reaction took place in the king's mind in his old age rather tends to mislead. Henry VIII died at what should now be called the early age of fifty-six, and his father had died at fifty-two. Of his two great rivals, Francis died at fifty-three and Charles at fifty-nine.

straint. Indeed, the king had more than once complained of scenes of disorder connected with the reading of Scripture, and Parliament had said that people "wrangled over it in alehouses," and that it was degraded "in rhymes, printed ballads, plays, songs, and other fantasies." One form of abuse, which had been already forbidden, was peculiar—the reading of the New Testament aloud during divine service. It is, indeed, little matter of surprise that a man with an English New Testament in his hand should look into it during a long Latin service, not one word of which he understood; but to disturb others around him was wholly unwarranted. Three persons of St. Albans parish were "prosecuted for disturbing the service of the church, with brabbling of the New Testament"; and one, William Plane, was taken hold of "for loud reading of the English Testament." Such a scene, in the village of Vassy, in France, led, in 1562, to bloodshed, when, the Duke of Guise being the avenger, sixty people were killed and two hundred wounded—the first of those massacres that crowned their atrocity on the day of St. Bartholomew.

At an earlier period[1] the reading of the English Bible had been sadly abused—conceited and opinionative men made it their text-book, and ignorant men, of extreme opinions, disdainfully tossed its verses in the faces of opponents. It is no less true, as already stated, that many readers of the Bible in rural parishes were frowned upon and insulted, the book being fraught with terror to reactionary ecclesiastics.[2] The inference, in high quarters, from all such agitations was, that none should read it but those who might be supposed to profit by it. Such a distinction was attempted by the politicians and the priesthood, not because they held the Word in supreme regard, and sought to keep it from desecration; but because they had seen the results of its circulation in advancing freedom of opinion, and in diminishing attachment to the Romish ritual and observances. Those who read the Scripture and felt its

[1] See page 389, &c.

[2] Sir John Gates, who suffered under Queen Mary, in 1553, for his connection with the misdoings of the Duke of Northumberland, confessed on the scaffold that he had been a great reader of Scripture, but not to his edification.

power, turned instinctively to the cross rather than to the altar with its Latin service, opened their hearts more to God and less in confession to the priest, put themselves under the inspired teaching of the Bible rather than under sacerdotal authority.[1] "It is plain," wrote Cranmer, referring to papal errors and ceremonies, "that the Word of God hath got the upper hand of them all." In alarm at this growing revolution, caused mainly by free Scripture reading, a species of discrimination was tried between such as might, and such as might not read the Word of God, and Parliament, no doubt under ecclesiastical inspiration, passed an Act in 1543, for the "Advancement of true religion"[2] in the following terms:

"That all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, of this (Tyndale's) translation should by authority of this act clearly and utterly be abolished and extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm or elsewhere, in any of the king's dominions." . . . "That the Bible and Testaments in English not being in Tyndale's translations, should stand in force and not be compromised in this abolition or act. Nevertheless, if there should be found in any such Bibles or New Testaments, any annotations or preambles, that then the owners of them should cut or blot the same in such wise as they cannot

[1] Dr. London, who had been busy years before in the search at Oxford (see p. 165), had shown some activity in the abolition of monasteries, and had fallen into immoral scandals. He was now a prebendary of St. Georges, Windsor, and in furious zeal against Bible-readers, he had laid an accusation against four of the citizens, three of whom were burned. But in trying to entrap some gentlemen of the royal household, he committed perjury, was degraded, pilloried, and sent to the Fleet prison, where he died. This same zealot, when commissary at Oxford, had, in 1528, in his intense desire to catch Master Garret, consulted an "astronomer, by whom a figure was made"; and the oracle declared that the fugitive had "fled in a hairy coat south-eastward." London tells this story openly to Archbishop Warham, on the 21st of February, thus pleading guilty himself to a capital crime, and making the primate so far a party to it, if he acted on the information so obtained. London was also a tool in the hands of Gardyner in the plot against Cranmer. Strype, Memorials, vol. I, p. 581; Life of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 245.

[2] 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 1.

be perceived or read, on pain of losing or forfeiting for every Bible or Testament forty shillings (or equal to £30), provided that this article shall not extend to the blotting any quotations or summaries of any chapters in any Bible." . . . "That no manner of persons, after the 1st of October, should take upon them to read openly to others in any church or open assembly, within any of the king's dominions, the Bible or any part of the Scripture in English, unless he was so appointed thereunto by the king, or by any ordinary, on pain of suffering one hundred months' imprisonment. The Chancellor of England, Captains of the Wars, the King's Justices, the Recorders of any city, borough, or town, and the Speaker of Parliament may use any part of the Holy Scripture as they have been wont." And "every nobleman and gentlewoman, being a householder, may read or cause to be read, by any of his family, servants in his house, orchard, or garden, to his own family, any text of the Bible; and also every merchantman, being a householder, and any other persons, other than women, apprentices, &c., might read to themselves privately the Bible. But no women, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, might read to themselves alone; and no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degrees of yeomen (officers in the king's family between servants and grooms), husbandmen or labourers, were to read the New Testament to themselves or to any other, privately or openly, on pain of one month's imprisonment."[1]

The absurdities, contradictions, and impossibilities contained in this enactment almost exceed belief. Tyndale's translation was expressly forbidden, and yet though it was stigmatized as "crafty, false, and untrue," it had imbedded itself in the versions

[1] 34 Henry VIII, cap. 1. Statutes at large. And yet in 1544, the king says in a royal mandate, "We have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue, to the setting forward of the glory of God, and the true worshipping of His most holy name, not to be for a month or two observed; but that the people, feeling the godly taste thereof, may gladly and joyously with thanks receive and embrace the same." This translation of the Litany was the germ of the Book of Common Prayer.

which were allowed to circulate. The Bible might be read in private by the higher classes; but plebeians were not to taste the forbidden luxury. The industrial myriads were put under ban, and God's Word was not to be polluted by their vulgar breath. Members of the peerage were tolerated, but others of lower degree might not touch the hem of His robe. The Book permitted to the patrician was forbidden to those of inferior station, as if both had not been "made of one blood," or had not been in the same need of the "common salvation"; as if under such a sumptuary regulation, rags and home-spun put a man beyond the pale of divine regard, and velvet and brocade were identical with the "wedding garment." The study of the Life of the carpenter's Son—of Him who Himself used hammer and hatchet—was cruelly refused to craftsmen and artizans, "earning their bread in the sweat of their face"; and the records of the religion of Him whom "the common people heard gladly" would have become the monopoly of peers and gentry. The insane prohibition did not last many years, but it must have created no little jealousy, confusion, and evasion among the masses, on whom the brand of disqualification had been so visibly stamped. The old taunt had been "Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him," implying that the learned aristocracy as a body rejected him; but the further insolent and uncharitable censure, "this people that knoweth not the law are cursed," though unjust in Judea, would have come to be true in England if this Act had been carried out for any length of time.

The change from freedom to restriction in the reading of the Bible is indicated also in another way. In the dedication by the prelates to the king of "The Institution of a Christian Man" (1537), they "give thanks unto Almighty God, that it hath pleased Him to send such a king to reign over us, which so earnestly mindeth to set forth among his subjects the light of Holy Scripture." But in 1543 the restriction is alluded to by the king himself in his proclamation that forms the preface to the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,"[1] which is a fuller edition of the previous

[1] London, Thomas Berthelet, 1543.

treatise.[1] After granting that the clergy should have the Bible, the royal words in reference to the laity are, "It ought to be deemed certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought, and be bound to read, but as the prince and policy of the realm shall think convenient, so to be tolerated or taken from it. Consonant whereunto the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the preachers, and so imprint the lessons of the same, that they may observe and keep them inwardly in their heart."[2] But this graduated toleration must have defeated its own ends, for the law could be evaded in hundreds of ways, so that three years afterwards, on the 8th of July, 1546, the Act was renewed in a more relentless and sweeping form: "No man or women, of what estate, condition, or degree, was after the last day of August to receive, have, take, or keep, Tyndale's or Coverdale's New Testament." Other works were also condemned: the whole Bible of Miles Coverdale, and the works of Fryth, Wycliffe, Joye, Roye, Turner, Tracy, &c., and were to be delivered up to be burned, the only mercy allowed being that "no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books." In December, 1546, a year before his death, and on his last personal meeting with his Parliament, the king, calling himself God's "vicar and high minister here," for he had taken the place of the Pope, complains of abuses in Bible reading: "For the book was disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same." The royal discourse was touching, the king wept, and many of his audience were in tears, and yet, such was the perverseness of the times that, after this last and earnest discourse on charity, "spoken so sententiously, so kingly, or rather fatherly," the next dark tragedy of his closing reign was the cruel martyrdom of Anne Askew, who had often been seen reading the Bible in

[1] London, 1537.

[2] Formularies of Faith during the reign of Henry VIII, ed. Cardwell, Oxford, 1825.

the aisles of Lincoln Cathedral, and who, after sentence of death had been pronounced upon her, was so tortured on the rack, that she had to be carried to the stake, at which she was burned with three companions. Bonner, Wriothesly, Rich, and Gardyner (the king being apparently passive), were the chief agents in this lady's heartless murder.[1]

But, though the true remedy was not to forbid the study or possession of a Bible, it was resolved to put the divine book out of existence, though fire had failed before. Bonner, who had been so kind to Coverdale and Grafton in Paris, while they were superintending the press, and who had helped to transmit to England the endangered sheets of the Great Bible, took naturally to the pastime of Bible burning. Numerous copies must have perished, and to prevent identification the title-pages of many must have been torn off. The "Supplication of the Poor Commons"[2] offers this comment:—"The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out," they say, "tell us that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, diversity of opinions and other like enormities, have reigned ever since men had the Scriptures in English. And what is this, other than to cause men's consciences to abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this? They say it sufficeth a layman to believe as they teach, and not to meddle with the interpretation of Scripture; and what meaneth that, but that they would have us as blind again as we were? They have procured a law that none shall be so hardy as to have the Scripture in his house, unless he may spend £10 by the year" (*i. e.*, equal to £150 now), "and what meaneth this but that they would famish the souls of the residue, withholding their food from them? Had God put immortal souls in none other, but such as be possessioners in this world? Did not Christ send word to John the Baptist that the poor received the Gospel?—Why do these men disable them from reading of the Scriptures, that are not endued with the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same

[1] See page 195.

[2] There was also printed with it, "The Supplication of Beggars," which appeared originally many years before. Strype's Memorials, vol. I, pt. I, p. 608, Oxford, 1832.

that shut up the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter that would. They are like to a cur dog lying in a cock of hay: for he will eat none of the hay himself, nor suffer any other beast that comes to eat thereof."[1]

The statement of Mr. Anderson, that Tunstall and Heath omitted the motto "A Domino factum est istud" is not according to fact.[2] It occurs in both editions—twice, indeed, in that of 1540, at the end of the colophon and at the end of the Table.

[1] The following is an example of the working of the Act, the note being found on a spare leaf of a copy of Polydore Vergil's "History of Invention." "When I kepe Mr. Letymers shepe I bout thys boke when the Testament was oberragated, that shepeherdys myght not rede hit. I pray God amende that blyndness. Wryt by Robert Wyllyams, keppying shepe upon Seynbury hill, 1546." This book had been printed by Grafton during the same year. Camden's Annal, ed. Hearne, vol. I, p. xxx.

[2] See p. 395.

CHAPTER XXX.

SCOTTISH History, contemporary with the last years of Henry VIII, and the circulation of the Great Bible in his kingdom, has many stirring incidents. Scotland produced no divine or scholar that engaged in the sacred and responsible work of translation. The supply of Bibles therefore came from beyond the realm; but the enmity of the popish ecclesiastics was as rancorous against the English Scriptures in the north as it was in the south. Cardinal Beaton had at this time prepared a list of intended victims, to the number of more than a hundred of the nobility and gentry, because, in the words of Sir Ralph Sadler, the English Ambassador, they were "gentlemen all well minded to God's Word"—the Earl of Arran, heir-presumptive to the crown, being among the number. The king could not stand even the sight of the list; but the ecclesiastics, alarmed at the proposed interview of James with his uncle, Henry VIII, pledged themselves to grant him an enormous sum of money if he would give them a secular judge to sentence criminals, for there were "many thousands who did not hesitate to study the books both of the Old and New Testament." The reading of the New Testament at this period is frequently referred to; and the authorities, so alarmed and blindly wrathful, ordered that all persons having the books, the importation of which both by foreigners and natives had been now forbidden by statute, should deliver them up to their ordinary, on pain of confiscation and imprisonment. Especially the reading of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue was for-

mally denounced and prohibited.[1] That such an act should have been deemed necessary shows that there must have been throughout the country numerous copies of the New Testament, and numerous students of it. Through the influence of Cardinal Beaton, five persons were burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, on the 1st of March, 1539, the king himself being present at the martyrdom. The trial of one of them, Dean Thomas Forrest, a canon regular of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Colme's Inch, and Vicar of Dollar, on the charge of having and using the New Testament in English, brings out that he had been in the habit of doing a novel thing; for though he was a dignitary, he preached out of the Scripture, and committed every day three chapters to memory. It was brought against him, not merely that he would not take the cow and corpse cloth, but that he taught his parishioners to say the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, "which is contrary to our Acts, that they should know what they say." When, in vindication, he quoted the declaration of the apostle, that "he would rather speak five words with the understanding than ten thousand in an unknown tongue," he was challenged by his interrogators, "Where foundest thou that?" and his reply was, "In my book here in my sleeve." It was at once plucked from him, and his accuser, holding it up, shouted, "Behold, sirs, he has the book of heresy in his sleeve that has made all the din and play in our kirk." At this trial the Bishop of Dunkeld, who, eleven years before, had sat in judgment on Patrick Hamilton, merrily exclaimed, "I thank God that I never knew what the Old or New Testament was." In 1540, under the primacy of Beaton, Sir John Borthwick, a younger son of William third Lord Borthwick who fell at Flodden, was charged with having in his possession Novum Testamentum in vulgari Anglico impressum.[2] He escaped, however, but was burned in

[1] Despatch by Lord Howard, and Barlow. State Papers, vol. V, p. 48. Barlow, at the time Bishop of St. Davids, writes to Crumwell, that he would preach, with the king's license, God's Word as he had opportunity; "whereat, though the clergy shall repine, yet many of the lay people will gladly give hearing."

[2] He returned, however, in better

effigy at the market cross of St. Andrews, on the 28th day of May. David Straiton of Lauriston,[1] and Norman Gourlay a secular priest, were condemned by a Council held at the Abbey of Holyrood—the king presiding, clothed in scarlet as a Scottish judge; and were burned the next day at the Rood of Greenside near the northern top of the Calton Hill, that the inhabitants of Fife might see the fire, and be "stricken with terror." Similar scenes followed in the West of Scotland. Two young men, one a Franciscan and the other a youth from England, suffered in Glasgow. George Buchanan, the prince of Latinists, who had enraged the ecclesiastics by his Franciscanus and his Somnium, made his escape from prison in St. Andrews. The Duke of Norfolk, writing from Berwick, on the 29th of March, informs Crumwell, "Daily cometh unto me some gentlemen and some clerks which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading the Scriptures in English, saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words and some money."[2]

After the melancholy death of the James V, on the 14th of December, 1542, the weak Earl of Arran became Protector. But two factions at once sprang up: the clerical one assembling at Perth sent among other stipulations to Edinburgh that the New Testament in the native tongue should not go abroad. The stipulations were refused, and when Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 12th of March, 1543, it was proposed, on the motion of Lord Maxwell, that "all the lieges in this realm may read the Scriptures in our native tongue." The New Testament had been now about seventeen years in the country, and it was time that it should be unfettered. In one of these sudden turns of affairs so common in Scottish history, Cardinal Beaton was flung into prison on a charge of forging a will in the late king's name. But Chancellor Dunbar Archbishop of Glasgow rising in his place dissented *simpliciter*, in his own name and in the name of the prelates of the realm that were present. He and his party wished the measure to be postponed till a provincial

times, and raising an action of "declarator," he had his sentence reversed, and his estates restored.

[1] The Laird of Lauriston was the first of his social rank that suffered.

[2] State Papers(Henry VIII),V,154.

council of all the clergy should discuss the question, "to advise and conclude thereupon, if the same be necessary to be had in the vulgar tongue, to be used among the Queen's lieges or not," and thereupon he "craved instruments." The Bible was produced in this meeting of parliament, and its opponents yielded so far as to allow that it might be read if the translation were true. They were challenged to produce a fault, and they instanced the use of "love" instead of "charity"; but when asked what the difference between the terms was, they were dumb. The opposition was vain, and an Act was passed to the following effect: "It is statute and ordained that it shall be lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges to have the Holy Writ, both the New Testament and the Old, in the vulgar tongue—in the English or Scottish,[1] of a good and true translation, and that they shall incur no crimes for the having or reading of the same; provided always that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament."[2] The Dean of Restalrig "long repugned," and certain "old bosses along with him." The commissioners of burghs and part of the nobility then demanded that it might be "permitted to every man to use the translation of the Old and New Testament which they had, till the prelates and kirkmen set forth a translation more correct. But all compromise was negatived; every man was made free to read "the Scriptures in his own or the English tongue," and all Acts made to the contrary were abolished. No time was lost; proclamation was made at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and letters were sent through the country, enjoining proclamation to be made in the more important towns, among which Glasgow, the episcopal seat of the prime opposer and protester, is not mentioned. The regent's proclamation, 19th March, 1543, was in the following terms:—

"GUBERNATOR. . .

"CLERK OF REGISTER. It is our will and we charge you, that ye gar proclaim this day in the mercat cross of Edinburgh, the Acts made in our Sovereign lady's Parliament, that should

[1] "Scottish" means here the Gaelic tongue.

[2] Act. Parl., II, 415.

be proclaimed and given forth to her lieges; and in special, the Act made for having of the New Testament in vulgar tongue, with certain additions, and thereafter give forth the copies thereof authentic, as effeiris, to all them that will desire the samyn, and insert this our command and charge in the books of Parliament for your warrant. Subscrivit with our own hand at Edinburgh, the 19th day of March, the year of God 1543 years.

"JAMES G."[1]

The general possession of the Book had nursed the desire to have the reading of it removed from the list of felonies. It is difficult to say what number of copies of the Scriptures was printed abroad, for so many of them bore the London imprint, and the eye of the initiated alone can recognize the differences. The English Parliament at this time was forbidding the Bible to all the industrial classes, who were not to read it on pain of a month's imprisonment. No mention was made of issuing any Bibles from the press in Scotland, or of any measures conducing to it, and none were printed there for more than thirty years afterwards. No one can doubt, therefore, that there had been a very large importation of Testaments, probably also of the editions of Coverdale, Matthew, and of the Great Bible. That the Bible was very common twenty-five years afterwards may be inferred from the words of John Knox. Describing the result of the Act which removed all restriction, he relates, with great glee, "This was no small victory of Christ. Jesus fighting against the conjured enemies of His verity: not small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor articles of their faith in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. Then might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands. . . . Some would touch their familiars with it and say, 'Thou hast been under my bed-feet these ten years.'"[2]

[1] James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran.

[2] Works, vol. I, pp. 100, 101, Edinb., 1846.

But a crisis soon came; Arran recanted, Beaton was set at liberty, the work of murder again commenced, and many fled from suffering. Adam Wallace, who could read the Bible in three languages, was seized, and burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. The mode of destroying heretics was somewhat changed. Four men, instead of being burned, were hanged at Perth, and a woman, the wife of one of the four sufferers, after giving the infant in her arms to a sympathizing neighbour, was drowned in the Tay. George Wishart, a younger son of the laird of Pitarrow Justice Clerk in 1513, had, when master of a school in Montrose, been guilty of the heinous crime of reading the Greek New Testament with his scholars. On being summoned to appear before Hepburn Bishop of Brechin, he fled, in 1538, into England. He is called, in the records of the city of Bristol, the "obstinate Scot"; and having preached in St. Nicholas Church some form of theological error, he was seized, sent to London, and tried and condemned by Cranmer — when he recanted and bore his faggot.[1] Returning to Scotland about 1544, he discoursed from his English New Testament, and was arrested, and burned on the 1st of March, 1546, at St. Andrews; the windows and battlements of the castle opposite the stake being fitted with silk hangings and cushions to enable the cardinal and his associates to enjoy the spectacle. The country was now kept in wretched turmoil by armed feuds and factions, and contending parties bent on supremacy put to hazard life and estates. Though the aristocracy of Scotland had been little better than a set of coronetted savages, yet change of religious opinion began first among them and the landed gentry; but the commons awoke to consciousness and "newness of life" with the dawn of the Reformation, for the truths of Scripture had not been lost upon them.

[1] Dr. M'Crie, from misreading one letter of a single word in the Bristol Record, gave currency to the story that Wishart recanted what he had preached against the papacy. But the heresy which he retracted is not very intelligible; it seems to have been a serious and unscriptural error regarding the merit of Christ as a Redeemer. Life of Knox, p. 481.

CHAPTER XXXI.

KING HENRY died on the morning of the 28th of January, 1547, and the accession of Edward VI gave immediate ascendancy to the Reforming party. According to common report the young monarch manifested great veneration for the Divine Word, and an English Bible is said to have been used at his coronation. When three swords were presented, the symbols of his being the royal head of three kingdoms, he told his courtiers that another sword was yet wanting, the Bible—"the sword" of the Spirit—which with the greatest reverence he commanded to be brought and carried before him. Sir Thomas More had alleged that if the Bible were in common use, it would be sometimes employed as a footstool; but the prince in his earlier years, "when proffered a boss-plate Bible to stand upon to heighten him, with holy indignation refused it."[1] The old incubus had now passed away, and the people breathed freely. The possession of the Bible was no longer restricted by statute; every one, whatever his social position, might have it and study it. It was free to all as the light and air of heaven. But the minds of the rulers in church and state were so occupied with the guidance of the changes passing over them that no new translation was undertaken during this reign of six years and a half. At the same time the instructions of Archbishop Cranmer to the two foreigners, Fagius and Bucer, during their stay with him at Lambeth prior to their installation as professors at Cambridge, would almost imply that the idea of a new translation was before his mind. His words are, "It had been a great while his pious and most earnest desire

[1] Heylin's Reformation, vol. I, p. 27, Cambridge, 1849.

that the Holy Bible should come abroad in the greatest exactness and true agreement with the original text," and they were therefore to devote themselves to the scientific exegesis both of the Old and New Testament.[1] Castalio ascribes a similar purpose to the young king.[2] Anderson states that the Scripture was simply "let alone" during Edward's reign. The fact is, however, that his father's last act against the English Bible was at once declared to be "utterly void and of none effect," and there was also an injunction issued "that parsons, vicars, and curates, were to provide, within three moneths next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume; and within one twelve monethe next after the said visitation the paraphrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, whereat their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto and read the same. . . . That every parson, vicar, curate, chambrey priest, and stipendiary being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, should have of his own the New Testament both in Latin and English, with the paraphrase of Erasmus upon it; and that the bishops, &c., in their synods or visitations, should examine them how they had profited in the study of Holy Scripture . . . That in the time of high mass the epistle and gospel of that mass should be read in English; and that on every Sunday and holy-day the parsons, &c., should plainly and distinctly read one chapter of the New Testament in English at matins, and one chapter of the Old Testament at even-song, and that when the priest reads the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, should depart out of the church." Cranmer's Articles of Visitation were based on these injunctions.[3] But the superstitious love of the Latin Bible and service lay deep in the popular mind, and the substitution of English provoked great opposition in various parts of the country. An insurrection broke out in Devonshire in 1549, and the rebels sent up fifteen demands, among them one that

[1] Strype's Cranmer, vol. II, p. 149.
[2] Dedication of his Latin Version.
[3] Cardwell's Documentary Annals vol. I, p. 8, &c.

"they must have the mass in Latin celebrated by the priest alone, and that the sacrament should be worshipped as it was wont to be," that "they utterly refused the new English," though they confessed that "certain of us Cornish men understand no English"; and that "all books of Scripture should be called in again, as otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics."[1] On the other side, and on the part of furious and sturdy Protestants, the English Bible and Prayer Book were idolized. When, toward the end of 1581, Campian, the Jesuit, kneeled on the cart at Tyburn, and began to use Latin prayers, some of the reckless spectators shouted to him to pray in English.[2]

About 1550 Sir John Cheke translated Matthew and a portion of Mark into a species of old English[3]—to the exclusion of all Latin and foreign terms—using moon'd for lunatics; tabler for money changer; toller for publican; toll-booth for the place of receipt of custom; frosent for apostle; ground-wrought for founded; byword for parable; crossed for crucified; freshman for proselyte; hunderder for centurion; and such phrases as "beggars be gospelled," Matt. xi, 5; "brood gardes and large welts," Matt. xxiii, 5. Such a style appears like a rebound on purpose from Gardyner's attempt to Latinize the English version, but it was English born out of due season. Cheke, the first regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, had been tutor to Prince Edward, and afterwards was Privy Councillor and Secretary of State. On Mary Tudor's accession, he went to the Continent, but was arrested there. At his trial he broke down, and he was forced to make a public recantation, which so filled him with shame that he died in 1557 of a broken heart, "carrying God's pardon and all good men's pity along with him."

In the reign of Edward numerous editions of former versions were published, amounting to thirty-five editions of the New Testament and thirteen of the whole Bible. Thirty-one out of

[1] Coke apologizes for writing his Commentaries on Littleton in English, and hopes that it will not "work any inconvenience."

[2] Froude, V, p. 167.

[3] The version was edited from a MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by James Goodwin, B.D., London, 1843.

fifty-seven printers were engaged in printing and publishing the sacred volume. Each of them selected what edition he preferred himself or what he thought was most likely to be preferred by the public. According to the best accounts there were two issues of Coverdale in 1550 (Andro Hester), and a third issue in 1553 (R. Jugge). Of Cranmer's Bible there seem to have been seven issues, and of his Testament eight. Of Matthew's there were five; one of them being a joint enterprise, the Bible being printed by Nicholas Hyll for eight "honest menne"—publishers, each of these publishers having a title-page with his name for his own quantity of copies. Taverner's version was also issued in 1549, and there was apparently a reprint in 1551. This Bible was published in five volumes in 1549, 1550, and 1551—"printed in sundry partes for these pore, that they which ar not able to bie the whole may bie a part." An English translation of the new Testament accompanied the paraphrase of Erasmus in 1548, and there are said to have been two other editions, the translator of Erasmus being Nicholas Udall,[1] under the patronage of Queen Catherine Parr. Of the New Testament of Tyndale or Matthew there were twenty-four editions, and fifteen editions at least bear the name of Tyndale. An edition of the New Testament was issued at Worcester in 1550, and a New Testament of 1552-53, was by royal order to be sold for 22d., representing as many shillings of present value. Cranmer threw no patronage over his own version, nor did he in any jealousy discredit its rivals. Indeed, two impressions of Matthew's Bible, one in August and another in October, 1549, preceded the reprint of the Great Bible in December of the same year. In each year of this short reign there were eight issues of the Bible. Edition followed edition so quickly that the image of the Hebrew prophet was realized, "The plowman shall overtake the reapers, and the treader of grapes him that soweth

[1] Nicholas Udall was for a time at the head of the Eton School, then first master of the Westminster School. He was the author of the first English comedy, Ralph Royster Doyster. The Princess Mary assisted in the translation of the notes of Erasmus, and, as the preface states, rendered those on St. John. Udall was not molested during her reign.

seed"—such continuous and self-renewing abundance as if spring were blended with harvest, or harvest encircled with spring.

Cranmer has sometimes been condemned for his alleged complicity in the burning of Joan of Kent, whose error was a peculiar and misty inconsistency of opinion on the subject of the incarnation. The story is that the prelate pleaded earnestly with the reluctant boy-king to sign her death-warrant, and that Edward at length with many tears attached his signature, calling God to witness all the while that his spiritual adviser must bear the blame. But the fact is that Edward did not sign the fatal paper, and that the prelate's name is absent from the list of those who in Council pronounced the sentence of execution. The general belief at the period was that the judicial law of Moses was of perpetual authority. What has been called the "great crime" of Calvin was justified by Melanchthon and Beza, and even the poor victim Servetus himself held that blasphemy was a crime worthy of capital punishment. John Knox and Peter Dens use the same analogy in proving death to be the due penalty of heresy. The First Book of Discipline affirming that heretics should die, for they are like those who falsify the "coine of a king," quotes in proof the edict of Darius, which "pronounced that a balk should be taken from the house of that man and he himself hanged upon it, that durst attempt to hinder the re-edifying of the temple." The Catholic casuist argues the same conclusion against heretics, as they resemble falsarii pecuniæ—forgers of the current coinage. Persons were put to death for religious aberrations in Elizabeth's reign, without any protests from great statesmen and divines; and when under James an incorrigible man was burned, Archbishop Abbot gratefully acquiesced in the deed, and Isaac Casaubon, then in England, cordially approved, though he had witnessed the deplorable results of persecution in his own country. Men have been slow to learn that conscience is the Holy of holies in the bosom of humanity the temple of God, and that no one has a right to enter into it but the Great High Priest alone.

Edward died on the 6th July, 1553, and was succeeded by

his elder sister Mary. Her reign forms one of the gloomiest periods of English history, and an epithet of terrible colour cleaves to her and to her Bishop of London. Reginald Pole (Rainold Pool), who had been so long a busy plotter on the Continent, came over to England, and he had such coadjutors as Gardyner, Bonner, and Tunstall, called by the queen "her own bishops," though they had advocated her father's repudiation of the Pope, but they had been maltreated under Edward. Tunstall's sermon against the papal jurisdiction had been published in 1539, and Gardyner's "De Vera Obedientia" was in wide circulation, with or without the alleged preface by Bonner.[1] Gardyner was, in fact, as much in favour of the divorce and of the royal supremacy as Cranmer, and in the tract referred to he affirms that the royal supremacy was the introduction of "no new thing"—but only a "clearer assertion and a more significant expression of it."[2] Bonner had vindicated Henry and his cause at Rome in a style so rough and defiant that his Holiness threatened at once to burn him, or boil him in a cauldron of molten lead. Gardyner, the ablest man of the whole party, became her Lord Chancellor; and in the record of her bestowment of the Great Seal, she is called supreme "head on earth of the English and Irish Church." He also performed the ceremony which belonged of right to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and crowned the queen. Mary was aware of Gardyner's subtility; and when he opposed her marriage with her cousin Philip of Spain, she declared that she "would prove a match for all the cunning of the Chancellor." Gardyner was opposed to the reunion of England with the Pope, and wished the English Church to keep its independence, with Mary as its head; but her reported answer was, "Women, I have read in Scripture, are forbidden to speak in the Church. Is it then fitting that your Church should have a dumb head?" Forced by his position as a statesman and lawyer to be an ecclesiastic, Gardyner was a subtle diplomatist, a matchless intriguer, and a wary, watchful, and unscrupulous antagonist of the Reformers. King Henry, provoked and angered by his audacity and ambi-

[1] See Maitland's Essay on the Reformation, p. 345, &c.

[2] Browne's Fasciculus, Appendix, vol. II, p. 800.

tion, had left him out of his will; and his ally, the Duke of Norfolk, had the king lived a few hours longer, would have been executed. Lloyd, in his "State Worthies," says of Gardyner, though their epigrammatic form gives his words an air of exaggeration, "He never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, and never said what he thought, whereby he carried it so that others should do his business when they opposed it, and he should undermine theirs when he seemed to promote it; a man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like the Hebrew backward; if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not." Sitting as judges, men like Gardyner and his compeers were sometimes twitted by the prisoners at their bar for again accepting the Pope, thus getting, as from Rogers, Bradford, Taylor, and Sandars, some "privy nips."

Heath, in succession Bishop of Rochester, and Worcester, and Archbishop of York, and co-editor with Tunstall of two issues of the Great Bible, had some scholarly reputation. When he was only Archdeacon of Stafford, he went along with Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, and Barnes, to Germany on an embassy; and Melanchthon writes to Camerarius about him, "Only one of the guests, the Archdeacon Heath, excels in amiableness of disposition and sound learning." Cranmer also praises "his learning, wisdom, and discretion."[1] He succeeded Gardyner as Lord Chancellor in 1556, and during his rule two hundred and seventeen persons suffered martyrdom. The Primate of England had the unenviable honour of signing the death warrant of the Primate of all England, as Pole would not consent to be consecrated as long as Cranmer his predecessor lived. On his refusal to take the oaths under Elizabeth, Heath was imprisoned, letters of a treasonable nature being found in his house. Being released, he retired to Chobham, where he died in 1579.

The English Bible, even in effigy, could not now be endured. On the marriage of Mary to Philip, July, 1554, when the royal pair went in procession through the city of London, they passed the conduit in Gracechurch Street, which had been gaudily

[1] Todd's Life of Cranmer, vol. I, p. 147.

adorned in honour of the festive occasion. Among other scenic pieces there was a tableau which represented the "nine worthies," of which Henry VIII was one; and the painter, having probably seen Holbein's frontispiece to the Great Bible, presented him with a sword in the one hand, and in the other the Verbum Dei—the Word of God or the English Bible, which he was delivering to his son Edward. The indiscreet artist was at once laid hold of and brought before Bishop Gardyner, the Chancellor, who, in angry tones, hurled at him the epithets of "villain" and "traitor," and peremptorily commanded him to efface the volume and put a glove in its stead. The terrified workman, on being so admonished, set to the task without delay, and fearing lest he should leave some part of the book in King Henry's hand, applied his brush so sweepingly that he "wiped away a portion of the fingers withal."

Not only the Bible as a whole, but any text or fragment of it, was also detested. Verses had been painted on the walls of many churches, but they were not to be tolerated, Bishop Bonner therefore, on the 25th of October, 1554, issued a mandate in these terms:—

"Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London—to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being—sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

"Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same; placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do; and also have procured, as a stay to their heresies (as they thought), certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church-walls; all which persons tend chiefly to this end—that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy-days, fasting-days, and other laudable discipline

of the catholic church; opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue: Wherefore we, being moved with a Christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever, within our aforesaid diocese of London (wheresoever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted), that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen; and therein to proceed, moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you, jointly and severally, shall see the foresaid Scriptures to be razed, abolished, and extinguished forthwith."

Mary reigned only five years and four months, and the work of fire and blood began about a year and a half after she ascended the throne. The statement sanctioned by Lord Burghley is, that during three years and nine months almost the number of four hundred perished—men, women, maidens, and children—by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire. A hundred thus perished annually. At Bow, thirteen persons were burned at once, eleven men and two women; ten in the same way at Lewes, including a mother and her son; and ten also at Colchester, six in the morning and four in the afternoon. Five months before the queen's decease, the last fire was kindled at Smithfield. Seven martyrs were consumed; but the scene was the triumph of the sufferers, and the sympathy of the spectators responding with a loud and hearty Amen to the martyrs' prayers, in spite of a heartless prohibition of all such demonstrations, alarmed the persecutors, and showed the fruitlessness of their cruelty. For force could not extirpate what argument was unable to overthrow. The song chanted in the Church of England celebrates "the noble army of martyrs," and she has "the witness within herself." During

such a reign the Bible could not but be neglected. By a proclamation of the 18th of August, 1553, the open reading of the Scriptures was prohibited. Many, however, clung to them. When Edward Underhill, "the hot Gospeller," was sent to Newgate, he asked especially "for his Bible and his lute." In March, 1555, William Hunter, a London apprentice, and not very regular in his attendance at mass, was, when reading his Bible in Brentwood Church, discovered by a priest who reprimanded him, and told him "it was never a merry world since the Bible came forth in English." The young man was seized, and sent up to Bonner, by whom he was condemned to die in his native village. There were no new issues of the sacred volume; for no one ventured to publish it, and the English Bible ceased to be used in public service. A second proclamation of 13th June, 1555, forbade the importation of the works of twenty-five authors, twelve of them English, such as Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, Fryth, Latimer, Hooper, &c. A third, issued five months before the queen's decease, ordered wicked and seditious books to be given up without delay, on pain of death by martial law. But though there was no direct edict against the Scriptures by name, many copies must have been destroyed.[1] The churchwardens of a parish in Kent reported in 1565 that they "had no Bible since their church was defaced ten years before." The current report was that numerous Bibles chained to the desks in the churches were torn away and trampled on. When the bones of Fagius and Bucer were exhumed and thrown into the fire at Cambridge, in presence of Christopherson Bishop of Chichester, there was a repetition of this enormity; and Bibles with other books were destroyed when posthumous indignity was inflicted on the corpse of Peter Martyr's wife.

John Rogers, the editor of Matthew's Bible, was the first to die under Mary, and in the strange and gallant words of Bradford in reference to such a form of death, "he bravely brake the

[1] "But in Paul's church may a man see the leaves of the Bibles torn out, and that no small number." Note on the margin of the first edition of Becon's New Year's Gift, Early Writings, p. 322, Parker Soc. ed.

ice."[1] Cranmer, whose name is imperishably associated with the English Bible, perished also at the stake. The incidents of his examination and martyrdom, when "out of weakness he was made strong," need not be written at length. Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Taylor, Sandars, and Ferrars also served the truth by dying for it. Hooper, who was in the Fleet prison for eighteen months, had at first good accommodation, as he paid well; but, after he had been deprived, Gardyner ordered him to be shut up in a common cell, which had the sink of the prison on the one side, and the Fleet ditch on the other, and where he had "a wicked man and a wicked woman" for his fellows. John Rough,[2] a Scotchman, and Cuthbert Symson, were apprehended in December, 1557, as belonging to the "brethren" who assembled in secret for divine worship—one principal element of which was the reading of the English Scriptures. Bonner, after tearing the beard of the first, and racking the other three times in one day, sent them both to the flames. Other sufferers were caught as they were in meditation on God's holy Word. Some died in prison, while others escaped, and seven were burned on the 28th of June, 1558. The queen was a poor lonely, disappointed, and hysterical woman, labouring under mortal disease, wedded to a "man stone-hard, ice-cold"; but the Spanish blood in her veins occasionally showed itself, and in her unenlightened conscience she imagined that she was propitiating God, and securing health and domestic blessing, by offering human sacrifice, as if

> "The blood and sweat of heretics at the stake
> Were God's best dew upon the barren field."

Her mind was soured also by the execution of so many of her friends. Featherstone had been her schoolmaster, and Abel her mother's chaplain; and the Countess of Salisbury was a special favourite and a near kinswoman.

A few sentences may now be given to the life of Coverdale, after the publication of the Great Bible. He seems to have

[1] See page 348.

[2] It was Rough that had called John Knox to the ministry in St. Andrews. He had gone to Islington some time before his own capture to see a martyrdom, in order, as he quaintly said, "to learn the way."

gone abroad after the fall of Crumwell, and on his return, at Henry's death, he was selected by the queen dowager to be her almoner. On the 30th of August, 1551, he was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, under King Edward, and he had enjoyed his bishopric only a brief period when Edward died. Mary succeeded, and Coverdale was summoned to her Council at Richmond, on the 22nd of August, and made a prisoner at large. In April of the following year, "he was about upon sureties." During an earlier residence on the Continent he had married Elizabeth Macheson, "a sober, chast, and godly lady," of Scottish extraction, and his connection with this Scottish lass now saved his life, as Dr. Johannes Maccabæus Mac-Alpinus, a learned Scotsman, had married her sister. Macalpine would have spurned, with Celtic pride, the thin and poor name of M'Bee, sometimes invented for him, as if it had been represented by Maccabæus. He was of the famous clan Alpine, to which Roderigh of the "Lady of the Lake" belonged. In 1532 he became prior of the old and opulent Dominican Monastery at Perth; but to escape a charge of heresy he fled to England in 1534, where he was kindly sheltered by Bishop Shaxton, of Salisbury, who gave him a stall in his cathedral. As late as 1550, in the accounts of the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, he is called simply Johne Makalpyne; and according to Stephanus, in his Historia Danica, the name Maccabeus was invented for him by Melanchthon, in allusion to the famous heroes of Hebrew history. When the Senatus Academicus of Wittemberg met to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, Martin Luther himself occupied the chair.[1] Macalpine had become chaplain to King Christian II of Denmark, and Professor of Theology at Copenhagen; and he had been one of the translators of the Danish Bible, published in 1550. Macalpine and Coverdale were "like brothers"; and the Danish king, influenced by his chaplain, wrote to Queen Mary on the 25th of April, 1554, asking the release of Coverdale as a great favour, for he felt assured that no crime

[1] Macalpine had at an earlier period studied at the University of Cologne, and prior to his leaving it had been admitted to the degree of Baccalarius Theologiæ Formatus. Gerdesius, Historia, vol. III, p. 417, describes him as sprung ex nobili et antiqua Macalpinorum in Scotia familia.

or disloyalty could be laid to his charge, and he trusted that the queen, "as well for her own character as for his earnest request, would set him at liberty." The letter was not attended to for some time, and the reply at length vouchsafed was a mere pretext, for it gave out that Coverdale had been dealt with simply as a debtor to the treasury, being in arrears with the tenths of his diocese, which he had held only for two years. The Danish monarch wrote a second time on the 24th of September, in stronger terms, saying that he was glad to hear that "debt" only was charged on Coverdale; that he therefore hoped his request would be the more readily complied with; and that he would be under profound obligation to her majesty if Coverdale should be permitted to appear before him, and assure him in person of his safety. Some months were still allowed to pass. At length, in February, 1555, the queen answered that a "greater weight was to be given to your request than our debt," and on the following day, a fortnight after the martyrdom of John Rogers, Coverdale got passports for himself and two servants, and set out at once for Denmark—"escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers." The queen's reluctance to part with Coverdale is manifest in the dilatory and hypocritical correspondence; and had not this powerful intercession for him come from a monarch whom she durst not offend, Coverdale, as one who had been so influential in the production of the English Bible, would most certainly have gone the way of Tyndale and Rogers, and left the world in a chariot of fire.

The first translator had met his death with firmness, and triumph and with a fervent and patriotic ejaculation on his lips; but his successor's escape from a similar death seems to be grudged by some biographers, because Tyndale, Rogers, and Cranmer fell victims. If, however, Coverdale escaped the fire, he lost the pre-eminence and came short of the highest glory. No power less than that of the Danish sovereign could have shielded him, for he had taken a decided step towards martyrdom. After the public disputation at Oxford, and the recorded resolution of Rogers, Hooper, Bradford, and the other ministers in confinement, "to suffer as

the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge," he cast in his lot with them, and wrote "the things above said, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consult and agree with mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners—mine own hand." The "higher powers" were thus dared to their face, and Coverdale's formal accession and signature must have now given him a jeopardous notoriety. An incident, however, had taken place by which probably he was unconsciously favoured. Gardyner, on being accused at the trial of Rogers of instigating the queen to persecute heretics, had been so provoked as unguardedly to retort, "The queen went before me, and it was her own motion." The saying was at once "noised abroad," and her own popularity, as well as that of Philip, was at stake; but as if to neutralize the report, his Spanish chaplain and confessor, Alphonso di Castro, of all men in the world, preached on the 10th of February, and inculcated the doctrine of toleration in his sermon, condemning in severe terms the taking of human life for the sake of religion; for the Scripture taught bishops to instruct their flocks, and not to burn them if they erred. One result was that the burnings were stopped for about five weeks.[1] A week after this remarkable sermon, and as if to present an illustration of its doctrine and a proof of the integrity of the preacher, Bishop Coverdale, with her majesty's letter, was sent out of the country. There might be other circumstances, unknown to us, that may have induced the queen or her council to deny themselves the pleasure of putting him to death. At all events, there is no ground for Colonel Chester's remark, that "by his comparative insignificance he passed safely through the storm." The man who had been prominently connected with so many editions of the English Bible at the beginning of the struggle; who had, in this work which had so notoriously helped to evoke the religious revolution, been a client of Crumwell, and a welcome and trusted instrument under Cranmer; who had written decidedly and earnestly against the mass and prayers for the dead, and who had defended, with an ardour approaching to vehemence, the "Protestation" of the martyred Barnes; who had been a royal chaplain and a

[1] Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. II, p. 641.—Bohn's ed.

married bishop; for whose advancement to the see of Exeter a catholic prelate, the queen's "governor" in her earlier years, had been thrust aside; whose works had been specified and named in royal proclamations; whose history had been marked by positions and filled with successes so provocative of popish alarm and vengeance, and whose recantation was so hopeless that no one thought of attempting either to menace or inveigle him into it;—such a man could not be a "nobody" in the reign of Mary and Philip, and under the administration of Gardyner, Bonner, and Pole.[1]

Chancellor Gardyner, who had procured the re-enactment of the old and savage Act of Henry IV, de Hæretico Comburendo,[2] who would have sacrificed the Princess Elizabeth, and who had zealously inaugurated the present cruelties against which even Renard was forced to protest, soon retired from the sad work. He died on the 12th of November, 1555, but the persecution went on after his death, Bonner being a prime agent in his own diocese. In the previous reign Gardyner had himself been roughly treated, and kept for some years in close confinement, so that he returned to power with a soul exasperated to fierce retaliation. After Philip left his wife and England, Cardinal Pole became the queen's principal if not sole adviser, and the persecution not only did not abate, but was specially fierce in his own diocese—eighteen men and women being burned under the shadow of his own cathedral. In November, 1558, three men and two women were burned at Canterbury. They were personally presented by Pole for punishment; and they were the last that suffered in the persecution. Yet Pole was a man of blameless life, and very far from being cruel by nature. Though he held the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, he was filled with the Romish horror of heresy; and his moderate successor, Archbishop Parker, does not hesitate to call him *carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

Coverdale came home at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, but he was not restored to his former diocese of Exeter, though he was chosen to take part in Parker's consecration.

[1] Life of Rogers, p. 46, London, 1861. [2] See p. 85.

The question of the vestments had again turned up, and Coverdale, though at his own consecration at Croydon he was "habited" like the three prelates who set him apart, appeared at the Archbishop's in a "plain black gown," the other bishops wearing "surplices."[1] It is not known if Exeter were offered to him; but the Act of Uniformity was passed, and in spite of all his claims as the giver of the first full Bible to England, and the editor of the Great Bible or Authorized Version of the period, he was put aside, though, in consideration of his past services, his might have been made an exceptional case. Grindal, Bishop of London, thought of him for the see of Llandaff: "if any competency of living could be made of it, I would wish it to Father Coverdale, now lately recovered of the plague. Surely it is not well that he, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*, should be now in his age without stay of living." But surely he deserved some recognition of his former labours. He had, under Crumwell, made a visitation in 1539 at Newbury, in Berkshire, for the purpose of calling in popish books and detecting popish practices. At the insurrection in Devonshire, in 1551, he went down with Lord Russell to preach to the rebels and treat with them. The enterprise was not without danger, and "who hazarded his life with that old, honourable Earl of Bedford? Ye shall find that none of the clergy were hasty to take that service in hand but only old Father Coverdale."[2] There is a note in the Register Book of King Edward's Council, "anno 1550, 20 Julii," ordering 40 lb. to be given to Miles Coverdale, preacher, as a reward from the king. In 1550 he had been one of a judicial committee of bishops and divines, who, under Cranmer, had in charge the trial of Anabaptists and other sectaries; and he had been a member of a royal commission, appointed in 1551, to revise the ecclesiastical laws, a work to which no small labour was given. At Exeter, Bishop Coverdale was a "great keeper of hospitalitie, very sober in diet, godlie in life, freendly to the godlie, liberall to

[1] He came to have very decided opinions about the vestments, as may be seen in a joint letter sent by him along with Humphrey and Sampson, to Farell, Viret, and Beza, in July, 1566.

[2] Troubles at Frankfort, p. 196.

the poore, and courteous to all men," and he attended regularly in the House of Lords during the session of Parliament. He had been in great hardships and privations on the Continent, and he had taught, preached, and translated at Wesel and Bergzabern. Bale says of him during his exile, "*Nunc autem in Germania pauper ac peregrinus manet.*"[1] At length Bishop Grindal, in 1563, collated him to the living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge. The good old confessor was again so poor that he could not pay the queen the first-fruits, amounting to £60, 16s. 10d. His petition to the archbishop and the bishop, urging their interference for him with Her Majesty to have the debt remitted, is simple and touching in its allusion to his age and poverty. The see of Exeter was poor, and had been suddenly wrested from him, according to his own description, "I being compelled to resign. And how I never had pension, annuity, or stipend of it these ten years and upwards; how unable also I am to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the said benefice, going upon my grave, as they say, and not like to live a year. . . . And as I am bold most humbly to crave your grace's help herein, so am I fully persuaded, God willing, to shew myself again as thankful, and in my vocation during my short time as fruitful as I can. 29 Jan., new-year. Myles Coverdale, quondam Exon." Writing to Cecil, on the same subject, he says: "That heretofore (he praised God for it) his honour had ever been his special help and succour in all his rightful suits: and that if now poor old Myles might be provided for, it would please him to obtain this for him; he should think this enough to be as good as a feast. And so beseeching him to take this his boldness in good part, he committed him and all his to the gracious protection of the Almighty. From London, 6 Feb. Myles Coverdale, quondam Exon." But his age and poverty did not bar all recognition of his claims. He had already become a Doctor of Divinity at Tübingen, and he was admitted

[1] Script. Illustr., p. 721. *Nunc autem*, that is, at the time of his writing the volume quoted from. Bale escaped on Michaelmas day, 1553, and retired to Basle, where he lived till his return to England, in 1559.

to a similar honour at Cambridge, *per gratiam*, in 1563; and he himself, by authority of the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, admitted Grindal to the same degree, in his palace at London, 15th April, 1564. Coverdale resigned his living in 1566, perhaps under the actual or threatened enforcement of conformity; but he continued to preach as often as he had opportunity. The people, according to Strype, "ran after father Coverdale"; but he would not have it known where he was to preach, "though many came to his house to ask where he was to officiate next Lord's day." He did not care for tumultuous meetings, lest he should give offence to the government; but he never forgot his former episcopal dignity, for though his signature during his exile is often Michael Anglus, or Miles Coverdalus, he usually signs himself, after his last return to England from an exile of three years and a half, "Myles Coverdale, quondam Exon." Latimer, on the other hand, was happy at being released from his bishopric, and rejoiced in calling himself a "quondam."

Coverdale died in February, 1569, at the great age of eighty-one, fourteen years to a day after his escape from Mary and her bishops, and was buried in St. Bartholomew's Church, behind the Exchange. His grave was in the chancel, and a "fair plated stone" on the ground bore an elegant Latin inscription. The stone was destroyed in the great fire, but the parishioners of St. Magnus erected a tablet to his memory in 1837. When the church of St. Bartholomew was taken down, in 1840, his remains were discovered, and reinterred in his old church of St. Magnus.

The character of Coverdale has been unduly depreciated by several authors. What his work was, what his merit was, has been briefly stated. Colonel Lemuel Chester, who exalts John Rogers, says of Coverdale that he was "an honest and well-meaning, but a very ordinary plodding sort of man, like whom there can be ten thousand found any day in London, with no remarkable ability for either good or evil."[1] But whatever his ability, Coverdale did his own work when none of the "ten thousand" thought of attempting it; and though his

[1] Life of Rogers, p. 46.

talent was certainly not transcendent, it qualified him to be the first to give a whole Bible to the English people, and to edit the Great Bible, which for so many years occupied a high place. He has the great honour of priority in this hallowed enterprise. John Rogers did not translate; he only put together a Bible out of Coverdale and Tyndale: but a nobler crown than that of a translator was set upon his head, for he sealed his testimony with his blood, and was the first at that critical period to suffer, and to show the dignity, honour, and tenderness of a Christian martyr. Christopher Anderson glorifies Tyndale, and for the best of reasons; but in his glorification of Tyndale, he does no small injustice to Coverdale, whom he persistently and on all occasions undervalues. Tyndale was certainly of a far higher style of manhood, decided, earnest, and noble in purpose and act, possessed of high scholarship, doing a primary work, and having his lasting monument in our present New Testament. But Coverdale's secondary work filling up a chasm was indeed a necessary and welcome supplement. The Psalms, as revised by him for the Great Bible, are read many times a year in the Church of England, and will not be readily displaced. Anderson has an ingenious and pleasant way of speaking of Tyndale's Bible, nay, he calls Rogers the editor of "Tyndale's Bible," though he knew that there was really no such book, for his reference is to Matthew's Bible of which at least a third belongs to Coverdale. He also sneers at him as attempting to "push" his version in the reign of Edward, though from the first he had laid emphasis on the benefit derived from the use of various translations. He did not wish to alter his version, but to present it as at "first issued"; but he wrongly retained such a word as "penance," while he quite knew the meaning of the term, and that "penance" is in no sense "satisfaction" for sin. He had not the compact rigidity of Tyndale, the "divine stoutness" of Latimer, nor the impulsive energy of Barnes. When he preached the funeral sermon for the queen dowager, he quietly, but emphatically, warned his audience that the "offerings" were not "to profit the dead," but were meant "for the poor only," and that the "lights about the

corpse" were in no sense superstitious symbols. He did not employ the coarse fulminations of Bale, nor indulge in such railing accusations as to stigmatize "the most holy sacrament" of the Papists as "Jack in the Box and Round Robin," "lest he should be an offence or stumbling-block to the weak brothers."[1] Bale himself is subdued into gentleness when he describes Coverdale's "friendly and open disposition and most gentle spirit. The Spirit of God, which in some was like a powerful wind overturning rocks and mountains, was in him even as a gentle breath of air, infusing vigour into irresolute and wavering minds."[2]

But the eulogy of one reformer needs not to be connected with the disparagement of another, for they were all servants of the same Master. Which of them could have been wanted? Which of their gifts and graces could have been spared? "The eye cannot say to the foot, I have no need of thee," for guidance and progress are correlative. The watering of Apollos was as indispensable to the divine "increase" as the planting of Paul. Forms of common service differ greatly in character and value, but each in its place is necessary. Paul dictated, Tertius wrote, and Phebe carried the epistle to the Church in Rome. Without any further minute or invidious adjudication of claim or position among those great and good fathers of an eventful and perilous time, we may say in a word that Coverdale was very high in honour "among the thirty," but "he attained not to the first three."

Reference is made in the previous paragraphs to Coverdale's poverty, both by himself and others. His work in the west of England, at the period of the rebellion, naturally led to his appointment to the see of Exeter. But the see had been scandalously impoverished by his predecessor Voysey, who was 103 years of age when he resigned in favour of Coverdale. Hoker says that "of xxii. lordships and mannors, which his predecessors had left vnto him, of a goodlie yeerelie reuenewe, he left but three, and them also leased out. And

[1] Works, vol. II, p. 426. Preface to a translation of Calvin's Treatise on the Lord's Supper, Parker Soc. ed.

[2] Memorials of Coverdale, p. 140.

where he found xiiii. houses well furnished, he left onelie one house bare, and without furniture, yet charged with sundrie fees and annuities; and by these meanes, this Bishoprike, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall lands, one of the meanest: and a place scarse left for the Bishop to laie and rest his hed in."[1] The bishopric had been estimated in 1534 to be of the clear annual value of £1,566, 14s. 7½d.; but it was now diminished to £500 a year only. The alienations that Voysey had made were connived at, in order to induce him to give up the bishopric quietly; and Coverdale, who had no other preferments, and was not in very good circumstances, had no objection to the see, merely because the income was reduced from what it formerly had been.

The following was the epitaph on Coverdale's tombstone:—

HIC TANDEM REQUIEMQUE
FERENS FÍNEMQ. LABORUM,
OSSA COVERDALIS
MORTUA TUMBUS HABET,
EXONIÆ QUI PRÆSUL
ERAT DIGNISSIMUS OLIM,
INSIGNIS VITÆ
VIR PROBITATE SUÆ.
OCTOGINTA ANNOS
GRANDÆVUS VIXIT, ET UNUM,
INDIGNUM PASSUS
SÆPIUS EXILIUM.
SIC DEMUM VARIIS
JACTATUM CASIBUS, ISTA
EXCEPIT GREMIO
TERRA BENIGNA SUO.

[1] Catal. Bps. Exon. Le Neve's Fasti, vol. I. p. 377.

END OF VOLUME I.

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